DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 279 099 EA 019 222

AUTHOR	Genovesi, Giovanni, Ed.
TITLE	Compulsory Education: Schools, Pupils, Teachers, Programs and Methods. Conference Papers for the 8th Session of the International Standing Conference for the History of Education (Parma, Italy, September 3-6, 1986). Volume II.
INSTITUTION	Parma Univ. (Italy). Centro Italiano per la Ricerca Storico-Educativa.
PUB DATE	86
NOTE	198p.; For volumes 1-4, see EA 019 221-224. Best copy available.
AVAILABLE FROM	University of Parma, "Bollettino" C.I.R.S.E., School of Education, Parma, Italy ($18.00).
PUB TYPE	Collected Works - Conference Proceedings (021) -- Reports - Descriptive (141)
LANGUAGE	English; Italian
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC08 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Child Labor; *Compulsory Education; Curriculum Development; *Educational Change; Educational Facilities Design; *Educational History; Educational Policy; Elementary Secondary Education; Foreign Countries; *Government School Relationship; Hygiene; Illiteracy; *Politics of Education; School Entrance Age; Social History; Special Education; *Student School Relationship; Teacher Attitudes; Teacher Response
IDENTIFIERS	*Europe

ABSTRACT

This second of four volumes on the history of compulsory education among the nations of Europe and the western hemisphere covers schools, pupils, teachers, programs, and methods. Of the volume's 16 selections, 13 are written in English and 3 are written in Italian. Most selections contain summaries; summaries of the Italian articles are written in English. Bibliographies accompany most articles. Titles and authors are as follows: "Child Labour and Compulsory Education. Acceptance and Resistance of Belgian Working-Class Families (1880-1920)" (Bie De Graeve); "The Belgian Primary School Teacher and Compulsory Education (1830-1914)" (Franky Simon); "A Major Educational Controversy in Finland: Are Six-Year Olds Ready for School?" (Mikko Ojala); "19th Century Ideas on Compulsory Education: Who Was Compelled?" (Patricia Smart); "Scuola dell'Obbligo e Nuova Alfabetizzazione: Parlare e Scrivere dalla Scuola Media Unificata (1962) agli Anni Ottanta" (Patrizia Mazzotta); "Normal and Non-Normal Children in the Light of Compulsory Education in The Netherlands, Circa 1850-Circa 1920" (Jeroen Dekker); "The Problem of Compulsory Schooling and Universal Elementary Education in the Kingdom of Poland in the Second Half of 19th Century and the Beginning of the 20th Century" (Julian Dybiec); "School Buildings, Programmes and Methods after the Introduction of Compulsory Education in Finland (1921-1939)" (Martii T. Kuikka); "Primary School Architecture and the Retreat from Open-Plan" (Peter Cunningham); "Compulsory Schooling and the Redefinition of English Education" (Roy Lowe); "The Effects of Compulsory Education on School Architecture" (Attila Horvath); "Rapporti tra Igiene e Scuola nella Seconda Meta dell' '800 Inizi del '900. L'Igiene Pedagogica" (Maria Teresa Bassa Poropat and Diana De Rose); "L'Estensione dell'Obbligo Scholastico Fino a Quattordici Anni, in Italia, in Rapporto agli Effetti Sui Contenuti e Sui Metodi" (Franco Bochicchio); "Pedagogic Modeling and Criteria for the Construction of Public Schools in Spain at the Beginning of the Century" (Isidoro Gonzalez Gallego); "An Essay in Schooling of Illiterates in Spain (1963-1966)" (Jose Romero Delgado); and "Compulsory Education and Curriculum Expansion in the United States (1880-1940)" (William J. Reese and Ronald D. Cohen). (CJH)

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COMPULSORY EDUCATION: SCHOOLS, PUPILS, TEACHERS, PROGRAMS AND METHODS

CONFERENCE PAPERS FOR THE 8TH SESSION OF THE INTERNATIONAL STANDING CONFERENCE FOR THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION

Edited by
GIOVANNI GENOVESI

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VOLUME II

UNIVERSITÀ DI PARMA - "BOLLETTINO" C.I.R.S.E.
PARMA 1986

EA 019 222

Università
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Vol.II

Effects of Compulsory Education on pupils and teaching staff (WORKING GROUP N.2) 5

CHILD LABOUR AND COMPULSORY EDUCATION ACCEPTANCE AND RESISTANCE OF BELGIAN WORKING-CLASS FAMILIES (1880-1920) (Bie De Graeve) 7

THE BELGIAN PRIMARY SCHOOL TEACHER AND COMPULSORY EDUCATION (1830-1914) (Franky Simon) 19

A MAJOR EDUCATIONAL CONTROVERSY IN FINLAND:ARE SIX YEAR OLDS READY FOR SCHOOL? (Mikko Ojala) 33

19TH CENTURY IDEAS ON COMPULSORY EDUCATION WHO WAS COMPELLED? (Patricia Smart) 43

SCUOLA DELL'OBBLIGO E NUOVA ALFABETIZZAZIONE:PARLARE E SCRIVERE DALLA SCUOLA MEDIA UNIFICATA(1962) AGLI ANNI OTTANTA (Patrizia Mazzotta) 53

NORMAL AND NON-NORMAL CHILDREN IN THE LIGHT OF COMPULSORY EDUCATION IN THE NETHERLANDS,CIRCA 1850-CIRCA 1920 (Jeroen Dekker) 63

THE PROBLEM OF COMPULSORY SCHOOLING AND UNIVERSAL ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN THE KINGDOM OF POLAND IN THE SECOND HALF OF 19TH CENTURY AND THE BEGINNING OF THE 20TH CENTURY (Julian Dybiec) 79

School Buildings,programs and methods after the introduction of Compulsory education (WORKING GROUP N.3) 91

SCHOOL BUILDINGS,PROGRAMMES AND METHODS AFTER THE INTRODUCTION OF COMPULSORY EDUCATION IN FINLAND (1921-1939) (Martii T.Kuikka) 93

PRIMARY SCHOOL ARCHITECTURE AND THE RETREAT FROM OPEN-PLAN (Peter Cunningham) 103

COMPULSORY SCHOOLING AND THE REDEFINITION OF ENGLISH EDUCATION (Roy Lowe) 115

THE EFFECTS OF COMPULSORY EDUCATION ON SCHOOL ARCHITECTURE (Attila Horvath) 127

RAPPORTI TRA IGIENE E SCUOLA NELLA SECONDA META' DELL' 800 INIZI DEL '900.L'IGIENE PEDAGOGICA (Maria Teresa Bassa Poropat-Diana De Rosa) 139

L'ESTENSIONE DELL'OBBLIGO SCOLASTICO FINO A 14 ANNI, IN ITALIA,IN RAPPORTO AGLI EFFETTI SUI CONTENUTI E SUI METODI (Franco Bochicchio) 149

PEDAGOGIC MODELING AND CRITERIA FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN SPAIN AT THE BEGINNING OF THE CENTURY (Isidoro Gonzalez Gallego) 167

AN ESSAY IN SCHOOLING OF ILLITERATES IN SPAIN (1963-1966) (José Romero Delgado) 179

COMPULSORY EDUCATION AND CURRICULUM EXPANSION IN THE UNITED STATES (1880-1940) (William J.Reese-Ronald D.Cohen) 185

ROBINSON CRUSOE. 16

TAV. XIII, XIV *DE FOE, Daniel* Robinson Crusoe *Venezia, 1795; frontesp. segn. N. 3975 I-14*

WORKING GROUP

2

EFFECTS OF COMPULSORY EDUCATION ON PUPILS AND TEACHING STAFF

Bollettino

centro italiano per la ricerca storico-educativa

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CIRSE

anno V 1985 n° 11

. di "Ricerche Pedagogiche" Reg. Trib. Parma Decr. 4-2-1966 n. 338 - Sped. abb. post. Gruppo IV - Diret. Resp.: G. GE

CHILD LABOUR AND COMPULSORY EDUCATION. ACCEPTANCE AND RESISTANCE OF BELGIAN WORKING-CLASS FAMILIES (1880-1920)

Bie De Graeve

The introduction of compulsory education in Belgium in 1914 should be considered to be only one -though certainly not a minor- facet of the overall socio-economic, political and cultural evolution and policy of our country at the turn of the century. However, feeling that it is impossible to outline the general situation within the limits of this paper, I would like to refer to the contribution of my colleague, Frank Simon, who clearly pictures the difficult and sometimes longstanding political debate and the legal birth of the Compulsory Education Act.

In this paper, we do not want to explain the varying attitudes and changes in the policy of the dominant social groups, such as the liberals and Catholics, who used education as a means for the legitimation of their own views and interpretation of society towards the other population groups. Here, we will focus on the dominated classes, more specifically the working classes and -be it still very tentatively and exploring- try and have a closer look at the questions whether education as a means of social control, was really effective at the time; whether the norms and values such as resignation, orderliness, industry, economy, humbleness, respect for property and other attitudes were really assimilated and accepted.

Is it possible after all, to talk of education as an efficient means of social control in a period of child labour and widespread irregular school attendance ? Were there any visible or hidden signs of resistance against the form of schooling bestowed on working-class families ?

Would it not be better for us to think of the family, the shop floor, the peer-group or neighbourhood as more important and further-reaching socialization agencies ?

We need far more historical research to present definite answers to these questions. This paper however, is a first start and will give attention to the attitudes of different 19th century social groups towards child employment, literacy and compulsory education and the issue of resistance. In fact we urge historical research taking into account the degree to which the dominated classes did or did not accept and fit education into their own culture(s).

First, we will draw a very rude picture of the situation in Belgium before we deal with the attitudes of different social groups towards child labour and compulsory education.

The industrial expansion in the 19th century favoured only a small part of the total population. The bourgeoisie, who then ruled the economic life in Belgium, clearly believed that economic liberalism

would finally lead to better perspectives and opportunities for all, even the worst off. In reality however, there was an ever-increasing gap between the rich and the poor and the contrast between the social groups was widening.

There is very little research on the consequences of this social disruption in general and little evidence on essential aspects as child labour, literacy and training of the masses.

However, the employment of children in our 19th century society, more particularly in the expanding industry, developed rapidly. The Factory Act of December 1889, regulating the employment of children and women, only applied to the labour in the industry. As a consequence, child labour in trades, agriculture and specifically the home industry employment was left completely irregulated. It was not until 1910 that widespread abuses as such, especially in Flanders, were accused intentionally in public. Only the law on compulsory education of 19 May 1914 made it theoretically and legally impossible to employ children younger than 14 years old.

Within this context, it seems most naturally to wonder how working-class parents, employers, factory owners, politicians and the clergy endured this slave-labour for so long in spite of the many campaigns for the abolition of child labour and the attempts to compel children to attend school.

The 19th century form of child employment bore its roots in the material conditions of life and the economic structure of society at that time. The capitalistic way of production never obstructed women and child labour. To contemporaries, child labour was an acceptable necessity. Their reasoning ran like this : "how small the contribution of the children in a working-class family may be, they keep the family budget in balance and are a necessary surplus to the insufficient pay of the father. Moreover, they acquire 'industrious' habits, and by early practising a job, they prepare themselves to provide for an own cost of living. At the same time, children have a greater ability for small jobs and working under control of parents or supervisors prevents them from laziness and keeps them off the streets".

The labour ethics, stressing a variety of moral qualities, are beautifully illustrated in the reading courses of the 19th century popular school. Next to the advantages of working, other principles such as the utilitarian doctrine and the sense of duty towards God, society and the fellow-man were also common. This 19th century bourgeois moral, which primarily aimed at the consolidation of social order, also preached characteristics like economy, purity, hygiene, satisfaction with the world in which their lot is cast, respect for superiors and properties, acceptance of the authority structure.

The first reactions against employment of children in the industry already rose in the very first decades after the declaration of the Belgian Independency in 1830. Reports, petitions, inquiries were

issued and laid down to the government, however without any result yet.
Ducpetiaux for example, a radical social reformer since the 1840s, proved a strong advocate of a far-reaching control against abuses. He suggested radical measures such as compulsory education till fifteen; absolute defence to employ children under the age of ten in factories, mines or manufactures; a limitation to six hours of work a day for children between ten and fifteen and a complete prohibition of night-work under twenty one years old. His proposal had only little support.
In the second half of the 19th century, petitions, reports and requests from different institutions and individuals succeeded one another. The demand for restriction or complete abolition of child labour no longer came from "radical" reformers only.

The supporters of the liberal liberty doctrine were opposed to any intervention from the state concerning the employment of children. The state had no right to interfere in personal affairs : only the father decided upon the education of his children. Employers defended this freedom -which of course coincided with their interests- with such arguments as : plenty of industries would disappear without the children's labour, children would be unemployed, factories were a benediction... The liberals called on educational principles to justify their attitude. They postulated that there was a tight relation between knowledge, virtue and labour.
But under the surface of the arguments in favour of child labour, laid the deeper fear for social unrest and disorder. Education for the lower classes might stimulate the class consciousness of the workers and thus could increase the possibilities for social revolution. So, generally we can say that the strongest resistance against any legal regulation of the employment of children, was the fear for a far-reaching state intervention, their pursuit of gain and the protection of the social order. In the second half of the 19th century, more and more liberals stood up against child labour and more firmly formulated the demand for compulsory, public and free education.
Also the attitude of the Church, more particularly the conservative wing of the Catholic Church, was one of intentionally keeping aloof from the problem of child employment. The clergy confined themselves preaching resignation and stimulating labour ethics but thus effectuated, particularly in the cities, an ever-growing alienation of the working class from the Church. The Church did not consider the conflict concerning the child labour problem to be one of her duties.
So, the general political doctrine, prohibiting on theoretical grounds any state intervention in private matters, as well as the Church and the clergy, recognized the "laissez-faire, laissez-aller" principle.
However, part of the Catholic bourgeoisie slowly changed its point of view towards the problem, from the 1860s onwards, be it still to a very moderate degree.

The conservative Catholics considered compulsory education to be opposed to the freedom of education. Compulsory education was an unacceptable infringement of the rights of parents over their children. We should mention however, that most arguments in favour of or against child labour were basically linked to the idea of compulsory education and so, the whole discussion soon turned out to be a political matter.
It was not until 1909 (the Catholic congres in Mechlin) that the conservative wing shared the Christian democratic opinion concerning compulsory education.

In 1889 and 1914, at the moment of the coming promulgation of the laws concerning the regulation of child labour and the realization of compulsory education, the economical situation of our country was severely subjected to fluctuations. The rapidly expanding automation, the search for skilled and trained workers and the growing opposition of contemporaries to child labour, made the industrialists change their policy of employment.
Next to strictly economic reasons, high proportions of the conscripts were not admitted because of poor health and physical unfitness as a consequence of the heavy labour at a young age. Also Church recognized the disadvantages of children working together with adults. They thought that the morality of the children was damaged by reason of the contact with godless opinions and the use of alcohol. They noticed the fatal consequences of women and child labour for family life.
At the same time however, the awakening of the working-class' consciousness and its organized struggle against the production relations also led to a definite change of the existing legislation.
We should not forget to mention the important reaction of prominents from educational circles, who promoted an action against the high degree of illiteracy and thus strongly insisted on compulsory education.

After highly passionate debates in Belgian Parliament, the Compulsory Education Act was promulgated on 19 May 1914. The law dictated that family heads from then onwards were obliged to give their children a satisfying education by sending them to a private or public school or by home education. The obligation would be operative for eight years, to start after the summer-holidays in which the child reached the age of six.
However, this law was bound to be a dead letter. Immediately after its establishment, the war broke out and the complete disorder, caused by the war circumstances, had an undeniable impact on the school attendance. Like the clergy, surgeons and also teachers and headmasters /-mistresses would connive at school absence on simple request of the parents.

In fact,it was not until 1921 that the then Minister would establish a bye-law which would severely control and sanction non-attendance. Inspection was made less complicated; the aid of local authorities, local police and magistrates was called in. One of the reasons for the desire to increase the fines for infringement of the law, was that parents could frequently gain more money from their children's employment than they lost through fines.

In the next part of this paper, we finally come to the key question of this contribution, viz. can we talk about social control or was there any form of resistance from below ? Was education, particularly popular education an effective means of social control; did the ruling class actually reach its final aim ?

It is difficult to document the extent of opposition to education "per sé", though it lay behind many of the more overt problems of school (non) attendance, such as the poor housing and working conditions of the working class in the cities, the employment of the children, the low standard of living. Many difficulties rose from the poverty, squalidness and semi-starvation. To the poorer working class, mostly the unskilled, sweated and casual labourers, education must have seemed to be utterly irrelevant in the struggle to exist.

However, the lack of studies in the field of resistance keeps us from definitely answering the questions raised above. We can only rely on contributions and results from similar research in foreign situations and an extended collection of oral sources, evidence from former Flemish primary school teachers and pupils about the interbellum.

The many forms of resistance of working-class families and their children against authoritarian control agencies, and the varying strategies teachers developed to maintain themselves in the classroom are clear indications for the difficulties the bourgeois society met in its efforts to integrate the lower layers through the social channel. The bourgeoisie though, soon realized that education only could not effectuate integration. At the same time, other channels were worked out through which the adaptation of the working-class cultures to the dominant culture could happen.

The teaching of skills and knowledge were no aims in themselves in popular schools. Training rather seemed to be a means of socializing pupils in an easy, smooth way, moulding the children's character and impart a certain life style.

In particular for working-class children, who left the school benches as soon as possible, training was attuned to the every-day practice of society into which these youth were dropped from their twelve or fourteen years onwards.

Contemporary writings stressed the importance of a practical organized training. In particular the teaching of manual labour could prepare the children, more specifically the girls, for their future role as a housewife and mother.

"Manual labour in school is a preparation for the social order. It is of great influence for the character. It makes the child industrious, persistent and develops a spirit of order and economy."

The evolution of our educational system, more particularly popular education, should be explained in terms of the conflict and the interaction between the two main educational ideologies of those days, viz. the conservative and the liberal. Whatever the profound divergence of opinions, there was a basic consensus on the content, the form and the structure of schooling for working-class children. They shared, for instance, the opinion that popular education could be limited to mere training in order to fit the youngsters in the prevailing structure.

The concern for socializing the lower social layers according to the norms and values of the dominant culture were clearly reflected in the curriculum of the elementary school. It was penetrated with fundamental dogmas such as religion and moralizing, patriotism and public spirit and a competitive individualism, which we do recognize as key elements of both the liberal and the Catholic ideology. Generally, the apathy of working-class people towards these contents was traditionally thought of to be due to the mediocrity, the love of ease and lower intelligence of the masses. Only exceptionally we found as a motivation for a rather indifferent, rejecting or resisting behaviour, the existing relation between that what children were taught at school and the daily experiences the working-class child was confronted with.

Therefore, we tried to include in our research the motivation and the justification of working-class people themselves, rather than to accept any longer the traditional descriptions in which the working-class children's conduct has been explained exclusively in terms of a biased middle-class value system.

During the 19th century, school attendance was not a problem as such, though regular school attendance was problematic.

And this could not be very surprising. Reading and writing was not the most relevant thing to survive. The employment of the children was an essential part of the lives of the poor. The temptations and the 'pursuit' of labour were too big to ensure continuous education. It was not important what had to be learned. Survival prepondarated ! This refusing attitude towards compulsory education characterized the working-class culture until very late in this century.

A retired textile worker in Ghent explained this attitude himself :

"When you know that your mam is waiting till you're 14 so that you can go out and earn yourself, well, then you don't feel very much like studying seriously.
That is a big excuse for good learning when you're only 12, that your parents continuously repeat that they're waiting for your pay.
Yes, you see, it is a bit the parents who are to blame, you know, they make you feel they're waiting and of course, as a child, you don't feel like taking school seriously then... You know for sure you'll have to go to the factory... They're waiting for your money, they let you feel and hear..."(born in 1913)

During the 19th century, schools in the first place had a nursing and care-taking function.
It was not only the so-called nursery school, which existed in Belgium already before 1830, that looked after children of working-class parents, but also primary school was consciously chosen to be a "depository" for working-class kids. For most of the children, school became a safe and comfortable waiting-room for the shop floor. As soon as it was necessary, the child was engaged in the work at home, 'minding the baby', assisting in the running of the house -one of the most common kinds of employment, even after the establishment of the education act. This work was chiefly done by girls, with the result that the average attendance of girls was lower than that of boys. Another reason for regular absence was the seasonal field work, picking of fruit or hops in the autumn and the potato-crop.

Apparently, all these forms of truancy seem to be of the same kind, but the motivation lying behind truancy differed considerably, and consequently the degree of opposition varies.
The examples above, all reflect the utter need for truancy : children stayed away from school in order to help at home or do some jobs. In these cases, the parents mostly urge school non-attendance, with or without help from the authorities. Here truancy is a necessity, essential for the survival of the family.
This form of truancy existed, specifically in the country, till deep in the 1920s and some old teachers told they remember this seasonal truancy till after the Second World War.
A second form of truancy we frequently came upon in the life histories stems from a deep aversion of the child to specific aspects of school-life and resulted in a continuous alienation from school. Here, non-attendance arises from a series of motivations as a deep urge for independence and adventure, fear of a teacher or certain course, being a victim as a consequence of poverty, learn difficulties or a physical handicap (bad sight or hearing), or an intense urge for freedom or loneliness far away from the daily school routine.
This form of resistance against a combination of alienating aspects of the school, basically was an individual act of resistance in contrast with the third kind of truancy which seems a typical collective act of opposition, the occasional form of truancy.

In this case we refer to the collective behaviour of school children who stayed away from school as soon as they had the occasion, to play in the fields, next to swimming-pools, to pick fruit, wander around, catch birds and make small fires... Although this form of truancy resulted in hard -corporal- punishment both by the teaching staff and by the parents, lots of children were tempted by the call-note of freedom, excitement and the promise of adventure. This form of truancy is very spontaneously and only happens occasionally in contrast with the two other forms of school-absenteeism.

The hostile attitude towards compulsory, regular attendance, was not only expressed through a continuing non-attendance but also came to surface through different forms of resistance (including apathy) against authoritarian control and the attempted discipline of classrooms.

From oral evidence, (auto)biographies and teacher novels, we can suppose that inside the classroom walls probably the heaviest and most conscious fights were fought by working-class children over the content and the way in which education was inflicted in them.

The permanent confrontation with abstract contents, the very strict discipline and the imposition of attitudes and habits completely unknown and irrelevant to those pupils, created an antagonistic atmosphere.

The most frequent forms of opposition of pupils in the classroom, were concrete acts of disobedience, irritating and disorderly behaviour, and a refusing or apathetic attitude towards learning, in fact, it was not only the obstruction of the children nor their sometimes overt hostile attitude, but the combination with over-populated classrooms, ineffective teacher training and the inefficient equipment in the schools that caused friction which could finally end up in a real class anarchy.

One of the interviewed teachers of a village school recalled the period at the turn of the century :

"... at that time, you had to face classes of 60, 70 up to 100 pupils. And then some boys were really guttersnipes. It happened that they would simply throw balls of paper at the teacher's head and started to sing and jump on and off their benches. Of course, you always found some nice boys but they left the others alone. Finally, the situation got better when we were no longer responsible for those big classes and instead of one teacher, two or three took the lot. Then we had more authority and discipline in our classrooms."

Schools tried to prevent such conflicts by setting up a system of strictly regulated courses and by adopting the traditional authoritarian methods such as punishment and striking fear into the pupils. The most authoritarian sanction was the physical punishment and although corporal sanctioning steadily decreased at the turn of the century, we frequently came across evidence of teachers and pupils in which they bear witness of the fact that corporal punishment still characterized the classroom routine for a long time.

From the point of view of the teachers, corporal punishment was justified by the need of control over and discipline in the far too big classes of unsatisfied children.

The fundamental assumption on which generations of teachers based their authority, was the strong

belief that a strictly controlled and disciplined start, a cool and formal personal introduction, showing not to be afraid of punishing disobedient children, even by beating or caning, were essential acts for a successful domination of the children.

"From the very first day you had to keep in mind the following rules :
Keep in front of the classroom.
Never move among the pupils.
Watch them closely, constantly.
Everything was neatly written on the blackboard beforehand, so they could never start behind my back.
Those were some of my principles."(teacher born in 1909)

At the turn of the century though, as the child-oriented theory increasingly spread, a widening gap between theory and practice of teaching could not be avoided. The sometimes difficult circumstances in which, particularly village school teachers had to work, made an easy application of these progressive ideas impossible, even if they were willing to, because of the hard daily reality, they were confronted with overcrowded classes of rebellious children they had to keep up. Those teachers were absolutely convinced of the useful effect of corporal punishment and therefore in their turn resisted the authorities which pleaded for the complete abolition of physical sanctioning.

The reaction of the children against corporal punishment led to rebellion of various kinds. In those cases where punishment was considered to be injust, the victims but sometimes the parents as well refused to accept the punitive measure passively. From different life-stories we can see that in such a case parents not rarely protected their child from the threat of the teacher, which often led to a real confrontation between the teacher and father or mother.

Apart from the resistance of pupils against physical punishment, there was as much rebellion against the whole range of other punishments available to teachers. Humiliating treatment of classmates, the introduction of the ass's ears and the trick to put stupid or noisy pupils separately at the back of the class, the act of roping children to their bench or the obligation to kneel down for hours (with or without books on top of the head) in their clogs and so one... all these various sanctions were met by physical aggression of the victims, disturbing the course, throwing ink-pots or balls of paper...

When a child did not meet the imposed norms of neatness, order and industry and consequently got an unjust treatment such as being put at the back of the classroom, then this was a motive for disturbing or rebellious conduct of the victim, who was quiet often assisted in his/her revenge by the friends. Resistance as a strategy was used both by boys and by girls, though boys relied more easily on their physical power and had far more aggressive reactions, while the girls were more subtle and acted through sly, lying, pretending or collective reactions as "having a laugh" or provocations.

However, this kind of rebellious behaviour in the form of nagging, teasing, humiliating, characterized different parts of social life where working-class culture was straightly confronted with authoritarian structures such as the school, the church, the street, the youth movement, the shop floor.

At the beginning of this paper, we stressed the great difficulty to understand social control and acts of resistance.
It was rather our purpose to show that school not always mediated as the absolute agent as displayed by the ruling class; that the norms, values, contents produced in the classroom were not always accepted by the receivers without opposition; that the introduction of the Compulsory Education Act was one of the "highlights" in the history of education, where establishment was confronted with open and subtle acts of resistance and rebellious behaviour by those classes popular education was set up for.

However, we want to end by saying that the latter resistance acts are in no way class-specific, nor is this behaviour in all classes specific to the period under consideration.
We merely wanted to stress the value of research which takes into account the experiences and interpretations "from below", viz., including the experiences and feelings of those for whom popular education finally was destinated.

To conclude, we should mention the fact that giving a paper focusing on resistance in no way implies that all members of the working class were hostile to education.
Even though we believe that popular education reflected "class-education", we often heard working-class children recall with love and pity the time they attended this "class-school", as an initiation in an unknown world.

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THE BELGIAN PRIMARY SCHOOL TEACHER AND COMPULSORY EDUCATION (1830-1914)

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I. When on 19 May 1914 a law was promulgated in Belgium that education during eight years was compulsory (from 6 to 14), this matter had already been a sore subject and a source of many conflicts between the political parties for half a century. In the political historiography, compulsory education is a classic item. Socio-economic aspects have not been passed over, although that particular subject has not been thoroughly examined in Belgium until now. The relationship between labour-market and school attendance for instance has not been touched on although it has undoubtfully been a determinating factor, just like in the case of the prolongation of compulsory education in 1935 and 1983. In a pioneering article from 1969, M. De Vroede proposed another field of research : the specific pedagogical dimension of compulsory education christallized around questions about, for instance, the desirable starting age, the duration and the contents of compulsory education as they are drafted in pedagogical circles. He supervised a thesis on that subject. In this paper, dealing with the attitude of the Belgian primary school teacher towards compulsory education, this pedagogical dimension is included. Next to that we will look at the teachers' points of view towards educational policy, as well as at the role of compulsory education in their professionalization.

As far as the source material is concerned, we basically rested on pedagogical periodicals and general assemblies of teachers' associations. First however, we will give a short outline of the evolution of the matter of compulsory education in Belgium.

II.

During the first decade after the Belgian independence, compulsory education was hardly mentioned in political discussions. It only occurred in a few minority groups that had no impact at all on the internal political events. Out of philantropic and socio-economic concerns, a number of social reformers would explicitly draw attention to the introduction of compulsory education. Figures from 1846 for instance, show that 34% of the age-group of 7 to 8 did not go to primary school. For the group 11 to 12 it was 41%, for the group 13 to 14, 71%. In the industry, 21% of the labourers was younger than 16 (22% in the coalmines, 42% in the flax industry). More than half of the Belgian population was illiterate then. Reading, and certainly writing was of little help to the poor : children served to increase the family income. The ruling class itself was little interested in the efficiency of the transfer of learning in the education of the people. What both the liberal and the Catholic fraction cared for the most, were the the results concerning moralization. Catholic religion served pretty well to maintain the system, as an instrument for the preservation of order and protection of properties, in one word as a regulator of social stability.

At the end of the 1850s, compulsory education appears on the political scene. A first

parliamentary dicussion on that subject took place in 1859. There were only 5 upholders in the House of Representatives. As advocates of compulsory education, a new generation of Liberals, working in intellectual urban circles, had come forward. They attacked the Catholic dominance and devoted themselves to a laicization in the sense of banishing both the clergy and religion from the school. According to them, the reason for the social inferiority of the labourer could not be situated in the moral but in the intellectual inferiority. Free and compulsory education, in other words the democratic spreading of knowledge was a means to phase out the intellectual inferiority and was the necessary complement for the spread of franchise. To these radical liberal spirits from the lower bourgeoisie and the middle-classes, this was the only way to canalize the rising working-class and obtain social peace. The Radical Liberals broke down the consensus of the ruling classes. Compulsory education was no longer a philantropic or moral problem but it became a breaking-point between Catholics and Liberals. The Catholics could not accept the radical liberal combination public - neutral - laicized - free - compulsory education. However, the subject of compulsory education had also made explicit a deep antagonism within liberalism itself. The Doctrinaire Liberals considered the introduction of compulsory education to be a limitation of the freedom of the head of the family. Compulsory education also meant a limitation of child labour, which was opposed to their economical interests. These arguments were also true for the Catholics.

During the whole of the 19th century, compulsory education was a source of resentment to Catholics and a lot of Doctrinaires. Although they could highlight the existence of the Child Labour Act since 1889 and the increasing number of the children attending school, the situation of the latter could not be called ideal at all. In 1900 no more than 15% of the children went to school during 6 years, more or less 35% during 4 years and about 50% for less than 4 years. However, if compulsory education finally came through, it is also due to the rising and the success of new forces : socialism and Christian-democracy. From their entry in Parliament in 1894, the Socialists propagandized compulsory, free and laicized education as an instrument for the emancipation of the workers. Also the Christian-democrats had purposes of emancipation. According to them however, compulsory education was not to become an obligation to attend the public, neutral and "godless" schools. The free choice of school had to be guaranteed by way of an equal subsidization of all primary schools. In 1909, also the conservative Catholics would support this point of view. After 30 years of uninterrupted Catholic ruling majorities, the law of 1914 introduced both compulsory education and subsidization of the denominational (almost all) Catholic schools and was also motivated out of a growing need for qualified manpower. As a protest against this subsidization, Liberals and Socialists had refused to be present at the final vote of the bill.

III.

The first years after the Belgian Independence were not quite advantageous for the certificated primary school teacher. The constitutional freedom of education implied in reality that -as opposed to the preceding government- a certificate was no longer required. As a consequence, everyone, competent or not, was allowed to teach. Thus, a qualified teacher was involved in a hard competition with unequal means because unqualified asked lower fees and this was of course very attractive to the parents. Next to this, they had to contend with education congregations which rose everywhere with a lot of members who did not have a certificate as well. The first well-organized action against this situation took place in 1841. In the framework of the first organic law on primary education, a number of teachers from the region of Brussels organised a congres. Next to subjects as freedom of education, the future Education Act, the certificate, the salary and the teaching method, also the school attendence was talked about. The various speakers had almost the same train of thought. They were unanimous about one reality : the lamentable condition of primary education. According to them at least half of the children were deprived of all kind of education, while the privileged part in most cases went to school only during 3 or 4 months a year. The most important cause for these eleven years of destruction was the freedom of education as it was proclaimed in the Constitution, which had turned down a qualitafively decent education into a "véritable cataclysme de charlatannerie". The measures proposed there also went in the same direction : above all, amateurism had to be banished and the certificate of primary school teacher had to be rehabiliated. The state had to clear up things for it had the possibilities and the authority to regenerate education because education was equal to common interest. Since criminal and revolutionary behaviour "always bears its roots in a deprivation of the 3 Rs". Thus, the participants of the congres were on the same wave-length as the social observers at that time, be it that compulsory education was not explicitly asked, was even not mentioned as a possible solution. This congres would have no continuation, partially due to efficient pressure by the government. In any case, the first signs of a growing consciousness had become manifest, the struggle for a professional status had begun.

Apart from one exception in 1849 -when the edition of 8 November of the radical Journal de l'instruction élémentaire, containing the claim of compulsory education, had been sent to all Belgian primary school teachers- the subject of compulsory education definitely stirred the pedagogical circles only at its politization at the end of the '50s. The first professional association of primary school teachers, the Onderwijzersbond, founded in 1857, immediately spoke in favour of a compulsory and free education and advanced international tendencies -the "congres de bienfaisance" in Frankfort- as a motive. This association, counting 100 to 200 members but finding a greater public with its periodical De Toekomst, was predominantly rooted in the pro-Flemish circles of the Brussels agglomeration. In the

political constellation of those days, its most important leaders nearly committed themselves to the Radical Liberals who had, as we mentioned before, very defined concepts on education which would be stressed even more in 1864 when the pressure group Ligue de l'enseignement was founded.

What did this handful of teachers expect from compulsory education ? Clearly a better material livelihood, status and recognition of the fact that their work was indispensable for society. Compulsory education implied that they became more independent of parents, the local authorities and the clergy. Compulsory education also meant that ignorance, where appropriate crime and poverty would be banished from society. Out of his judgement of the social conditions of those days, we learn that the teacher had placed himself in a leading part. He would bring improvement within the existing social structures as far as education was concerned. Through the spread "among the people" of principles as order, thrift, consideration, mutual help, decent family life, domestic happiness, personal discipline, self help, he would guarantee the "wealthy and powerful of the world" a "quiet maintenance" of their properties, a "peaceful state", a "happy freedom". The teacher defined himself as a means of transfer of ideology. Moreover, he had an incredible confidence in the State. The State was "his master", the omnipotent, which had to assert its power even more, certainly in the field of education. They were convinced of the fact that a school could have a religious and moral sphere without a dominating position of the clergy. By reason of the freedom of education, the Onderwijzersbond particularly wanted as many as possible public nursery and primary schools. Thus, the Onderwijzersbond took a stance completely opposite to the decisions of the Catholic congresses of 1863, 1864 and 1867, where "l'état hors de l'école" and the development of denominational schools was demanded, and where, with the authority of the French bishop Dupanloup, compulsory education was pictured as hypocritical (the so-called obliged attendance of municipal schools) and as useless (school attendance rose sharply). The latter argument could indeed be supported by reality. In Ghent for instance in the 50s and 60s, the demand for education was higher than the supply of schools, a demand that was fostered by the pression of the charity office on the parents in receipt of relief to send their children to school. In 1858, the homogeneous liberal city-council of Ghent would even suggest to carry the principle of compulsory education into law. Also the Liberals, in power from 1857, propagandized school attendance and for that purpose in 1863 for instance, they made the changeable earnings of the teachers dependent on school attendance. Although the teachers felt that they should not be punished materially for the pupils' non-attendance, the measure proved to be paying : the earnings of more than three quarters of the teaching staff in duty increased sharply. Could it be else ? The teachers registered the school attendance themselves which consequently heavily mortgages the accuracy of these attendance records until this measure was set aside in 1879.

The point of view of the Onderwijzersbond is however only the opinion of a minority. Judging from

the contents of the successful pedagogical periodicals Le Progrès and L'Abeille, the biggest part of the teachers were more moderate. Compulsory education was not demanded explicitly but rather the development of the education system by means of more teachers and material facilities. Legal measures that did not fit in Belgian morals had to be neglected. Taking into account the situation of the families in need, they rather preferred moral and indirect compulsion (pression from prominent persons, the giving of cloths, the refusing of public relief, compulsory enlistment for the illiterates, a certificate of primary education as a requirement for a public post or franchise, the Child Labour Act), measures that the advocates of compulsory education did not dislike either.

During the period of Catholic government (1870-1878), the municipal teaching staff became more and more convinced of the cause of compulsory education. This was in fact a reflection of the political developments. Under this government, the Radical Liberals would seriously prepare their politics concerning education. They would at last succeed in finding a consensus with the Doctrinaires. The most important item was the revision of the clerical Primary Education Act of 1842. With respect to the teachers their action was especially focused on the General Belgian Association of Primary School Teachers (A.B.O.B.), formed between 1869 and 1871 absorbing the Onderwijzersbond, which acted nation-wide and which united in the 70s almost 2,200 municipal teachers (= ca 30% of the total amount). The association was zealous for the material and moral interests of the teachers and took a politically neutral position. The recruitment of the members of the starting A.B.O.B., took place when the radical liberal bill Funck concerning compulsory education (for a period of 6 years but weakened by the part-time system which was a concession to the industry) and the negative Catholic answer, the so-called report de Haerne, stirred the political world. For the first time lists of figures were played off against one another, a technique that was regularly imitated afterwards, making school politics and school statistics inseparable from one another. A.B.O.B. however avoided a clear statement on compulsory education. The recruitment was centralized around an acute material problem, the smarting situation of the pension that interested every teacher, whatever his conviction was. The desirability of compulsory education was mentioned now and then but its immediate application was not considered to be very realistic since the problems as for instance the shortage of qualified teachers and the unfitness of the schoolbuildings could not be solved so quickly. At the moment when the number of pupils took a steady rise (1845 : 9,919 pupils to 100,000 inhabitants; 1860 : 10,703; 1875 : 12,080) and on the other hand, when the number of pupils who left school every year with a complete school career decreased (34% in 1863; 25% in 1875), the association demanded, next to an increase of the budget, a redoubling of the number of teachers, a class size of 50 to 60 pupils, if possible a homogeneous age-group and a final examination for a certificate of primary school of which the taker would receive a savings-bank book and would enjoy a number of advantages concerning enlistment, Civil

Services or franchise. At the beginning of the 70s, more and more teachers started to think of compulsory education. L'Abeille came round and also the politically prudent pedagogical periodical De Vereeniging, which started in 1868 and was widely spread in Flanders, slowly began to belong to the group of advocates of compulsory education. International events -the French-German war and especially the Paris Commune- played an important role in the development. Children who knocked about the streets instead of attending school, would grow up to be "people of the likes of those Paris communards" the reasoning went. It was about time to teach the population its rights and duties in order to resist the threat of socialism. In other words, the teacher as an architect of peace, as a "mineur" -and not as a "meneur" as the Catholics pretended wrongly- of the International, and as a professional who was able to take over a number of duties of the families.

Finally, the polarization in Belgian politics between Catholics and Liberals would force the A.B.O.B. to take a public stance. In September 1875, when the Liberals saw a serious chance to win the elections of 1876, the choice was made. Concerning the item of the general meeting "what reforms have to be carried through in the education system in order to generalize the developments in primary education ?", the leaders, all Radical Liberals sympathizers, did not expect another answer but : compulsory education. The great majority of the ca 2,000 who were reported to be present and who did not hear very much else but radical liberal points of view, voted in support of compulsory education although the restriction was included that its immediate realization was not demanded. At once the A.B.O.B. laid aside the veil of neutrality. What the Catholics had hinted from the very foundation of the association, had become true : the association supported the (Radical) Liberals, laicization, where appropriate the revision of the law of 1842. Especially the Catholic ultramontanist press stigmatized the association as a political emanation of the Ligue de l'enseignement, the Libre Pensée and the freemasonry. Moreover, it had to confront an episcopal condemnation. A (rather small) group of members followed the diocesan inspection, dismissed and took a radical position against compulsory education. They found a mouthpiece in the Nieuwe School- en Letterbode, a periodical published from 1872 on, which identified compulsory education with godless education. Till 1878, the number of members of the A.B.O.B. was stagnant. However, the association had done everything possible to show that compulsory education was a pedagogical and not a political matter and that it did not imply education without religion. Where the primary school teachers in big liberal centra could ask for the banishment of religion, the Flemish teachers from the countryside clearly had another conviction. It was not so much the principle of the disestablishment of Church from State that was objected to but the idea to teach morals without religion : "moral lesson is impossible if it is not based on two strong religious grounds : the existence of God and the immortality of the soul, and thus it is done in all countries where secular education is given".

It seems that the heavy political explosiveness contributed to the fact that from pedagogical circles no demands with a specific pedagogical foundation were formulated for the authorities. The teachers indeed tried to strip the subject from its political sphere by means of stressing the general social benefit of education but in the political reality this turned out to be impossible : compulsory education means competent labourers and social order, the liberal teacher stated; compulsory education implies laicization, education without religion, in other words chaos, the Catholic teacher replied. Through the image of the teacher as a disinterested, suspended above politics who pursues the welfare of society by an extremely hard and important occupation, the desire for a better social rank and the effort to estimate the profession higher becomes manifest again. This does not mean that there was no pedagogical discussion at all. The half-time system as a possible way of organizing for instance, brought about some headwork with respect to the children's concentration, the overburdening of the curriculum, the task of education : to teach elementary skills or general knowledge. In the 70s, we see that the pedagogical press and the A.B.O.B. also payed attention to the limits of compulsory education, more specific the starting age, where appropriate the physical and mental school readiness. There seemed to be no unanimity, 6 or 7 years as a starting age, but reality got the upper hand in this case. The parents usually sent their children to school at the age of 6, a situation which was legally confirmed in 1879 when the school age was changed from 7 to 14 to 6 to 14 in view of the right to free education. In teachers' circles they also waited for the results of the developing nursery education in order to take decisions according to the starting age.

Thus, in the middle of the 70s, the ideological splitting of the teaching staff already had become a reality. The organized teachers took a liberal position in any case. The gladness at the liberal electoral victory of 11 June 1878 as well as at the formation of a Ministry of Public Education charged with the draft of a new education act, showed more than enough how strongly they had devoted themselves to the liberal electoral program. The extremely sharp Catholic reaction on the second organic law on primary education (among other things the banishing of religion from the curriculum and the abolition of the diocesan inspection), by which the teachers in municipal schools were urged to resign, brought about only approximately 50 resignations from the A.B.O.B. On the contrary, the association grew with 5,000 members and so it reached ca 90% of the municipal teachers and 20% of the women teachers. Its request for compulsory education had not been included in the law although it was a protection from what could be expected and also -but in a much higher degree than expected- turned out to be true : the foundation of a lot of private Catholic schools and in many regions the depopulation of municipal schools. During this school struggle the A.B.O.B. hardly formulated any criticism. The introduction of the bill on compulsory education on 3 July 1883 gave satisfaction. It provided for compulsory education from 6 to 12, prohibited all work in factories and mines for that age-group and

also included a number of sanctioning measures. The A.B.O.B. however, had demanded compulsory education till 14 and the introduction of a certificate of primary education. In their periodicals, only teachers in the big agglomerations would attack the bill which, according to them, affirmed the existing situation. Indeed, the biggest amount of pupils leaving school for the labour market, was situated immediately after they received Holy Communion for the first time, i.e. at about the age of 11 (1875 : 89% of the children of 10 to 11 years old attended school, 51% of those of 12 to 13). However, it was hard to dispute the fact that the law would restrict the non-attendance. The liberal discord and the liberal electoral defeat in 1884 prevented the voting of the bill although it was part of a diptych of which the other half, a new electoral law for province and municipality was voted all right. The law of 24 August 1883 provided for two kinds male capacity voters : a first group, including teachers, was automatically allowed to vote by reason of certificate or function, a second group, persons who had a certificate of six years of primary education, had to pass a capacity examination first. The teachers considered the new ballot act to be an elevation of their status. Indeed, they were engaged everywhere : in the juries for the electoral capacity exams and as teachers of the special courses that were organized by a lot of societies of various opinions as a preparation for the exam. The teachers turned out to be very good detectives to find potential capacity voters in order to learn them as well as possible to vote for the "good". The teacher now had a great responsibility for the future electoral behaviour of his pupils and he also had a big impact on their fathers. If compulsory education had been introduced at the same time, his position would have been even stronger.

The legislative elections of 10 June 1884, brought the Catholics to power again and was the beginning of a period of liberal confusion and lethargy. The municipal teacher on whose back the "school war" was fought, experienced these balance of power through the reduction of wages and detaining. The malaise, a consequence of this development had its effects upon the A.B.O.B. : its degree of organization decreased till about 20%; some municipal teachers prefered to set up politically more militant local associations. At its general assembly, the A.B.O.B. deplored the Catholic education politics, ascertained a decline of the quality of education and as a political act, almost every year it poured a libation to the sake of compulsory education in which they saw a means to restaure the status of the primary school teacher that had fallen in people's estimation due to the "school war". With its demands for compulsory, free, laicized and scientific education, the association in any case could rely on the rising democratical parties such as the progressist party (1887) and the Belgian Workers' Party (1885). In these new parties where intellect without financial back-ground was appreciated, the teachers were allowed to and could affirm themselves. With the approaching extension of the franchise, the teacher behaved more self-assured on meetings and polls. The A.B.O.B. experienced how easily its demands crept into the party and election programmes of these new parties. So did the

municipal teachers' associations and particularly the Belgian Socialist Teachers's Association (B.S.O., founded in 1893) that was considered to be a specialist concerning education within the Belgian Workers' Party -the most powerful opposition party after the elections of 1894, the first based on plural male voting- which yielded at once a number of representatives. Intimidation from the part of the Catholic government made the socialist teachers climb down already in 1896. They preferred to agitate in tolerated associations then. In any case, the programme of the B.S.O. went the furthest of all : integral education, free elementary, secondary and higher education; abolition of all class education, the "école unique" for all social classes; society guaranteed nourishment, clothing, maintenance and lodging for every pupil; it also ensured secondary and higher education for every pupil who had proved to be "zealous and competent". The purpose of such programmes was clearly to provide a right to education. However, as far as the political parties are concerned, the matter of compulsory education in the first place was a means to limit non-attendance rather than to state a right to education.

In the process of democratization during the 90s, also the Catholic, in most cases municipal teachers played an active part. A number of them helped to mould the Christian People's Party in 1893. They were the typical products of the Flemish Catholic lower and intellectual middle-class from country and small provincial towns which was the medium of a process of political radicalization and which opposed itself to the conservative Catholic government and the top of the party. This deeply Christian, Flamingant, directed to corporatism, anti-socialist teachers, of whom the militant core worked in the South Flemish regions, pinned their faith to compulsory education, intervention of the state and financial warrants for the liberty of choice of school, in other words : subsidization of denominational schools. With others, they laid the foundations of the Christian Association of Primary School Teachers (C.O.V.) in 1893 and feeded the editorial board of its periodical Christene School. Compulsory education was not dealt with very often. It seemed that no attention was paid at it except to put the rival A.B.O.B. in an unfavourable light with the argument that compulsory education without subsidization would lead to godless state education. However, between the lines one could read a certain sympathy for compulsory education from the part of the editorial staff of Christene School. Not every Catholic municipal primary teacher shared the same opinion as his South Flemish collegues. L. Roevens for instance, who had resigned from the A.B.O.B. in 1875 and was president of the C.O.V. between 1896 and 1911, was a consequent opponent of compulsory education. The free Catholic teachers, who followed the conservative Catholic policy, would only link up on large scale from 1905. Those conservative Catholics needed the C.O.V. right now to improve urgently the sometimes deplorable material situation of some categories of teachers. To be too zealous for compulsory education could seriously mortgage this. After a study of the results of compulsory education in France, the

introduction of compulsory education in Belgium was stigmatized as "inutile et vexatoire" and a prohibition of child labour till 14 years and a certificate of primary education was considered more useful. Only in 1907, when also Christian democrats joined the government, the general assembly of the C.O.V. expressed the wish to realize compulsory education on the condition however that the a free choice of school would be guaranteed.

The matter of compulsory education would be treated most frequently in the A.B.O.B. Now that there was no more discussion on the principle of compulsory education, the modalities of application could be dealt with more easily. As opposed to the liberal party, the A.B.O.B. succeeded to pick up again during the 90s, to edit a periodical, Journal des instituteurs and to reach again almost half of the municipal teaching staff around the turn of the century. The association now used the demand for compulsory education as an open weapon against the Catholic government. In 1904 it could transform the slumbering Ligue de l'enseignement into a militant association. It was one of the most vigorous supporters of the demonstration that the Ligue organized in 1906 in favour of compulsory education which, as it reported, mobilized 60,000 persons. Simultaneously, a petition action yielded 200,000 signatures which was, according to the organizers, a proof of the fact that a lot of Belgians did not tolerate the intellectual and moral deficit in the country and attacked the offence against the future nation. Moreover, the A.B.O.B. was heavily opposed to the subsidization of the free Catholic schools and completely depreciated them : the teachers were incompetent, the methods of education obsolete, the contents in contradiction with science, the development of the child's character and intellect was hindered, the children were trained to be fanatics, in one word, the progress and the prosperity of the Belgian people was obstructed. Conclusion : only the neutral, scientific, national public school could stimulate intellectual development, form characters, ensure peace and prosperity for the Belgians. Although the A.B.O.B. assured that no one would be obliged to send his children to a public school, the above-mentioned prose could hardly inspire the Catholics with confidence.

Next to this educational political panel, the A.B.O.B. paid a lot of attention to non-attendance and early school leaving, the duration of compulsory education, the curriculum and the sanctioning. Concerning school attendance, the A.B.O.B. interpreted and corrected the school statistics in a direction that they suggested a much worse situation than the authorities had pretended. The most important causes for non-attendance could be found with the child, the parents, the authorities and society. The apathy of the children for instance was imputed to a deficient family education and an oppressive education system which would nip in the bud every new initiative. Children were upbraided with their desire to escape from being guarded, also with their pursuit of gain which allowed them to visit taverns or to smoke, in other words : the symptoms of school weariness. Although the teachers could understand the sometimes poor conditions of life of the parents, the latter were reproached for

their greediness and negligence since they made their children work as early as possible. The authorities were told that the regimentation of the child labour was too indolent and that the organization of education left much to be desired : overcrowded classes, overburdened and under-paid teachers, the pressure to get through the curriculum, house-work, the almost obliged moving up of incompetent children to a higher grade. As a remedy for this situation, they required among other things the fight of poverty, the formation of classes for handicapped pupils, the coaching of backward pupils, the foundation of parents' committees, more pedagogic independence for the teachers, the organization of a vocational education in connection with primary education, all these next to the traditional means as a savings-bank book or a certificate of primary education. Concerning the curriculum, next to elementary cultural skills, they wanted to give attention to the physical and intellectual training of the child, an assimilated knowledge that would suit in various life situations. The overloading of the curriculum was dealt with regularly. What was felt intuitively before, could, around the turn of the century, be stated by pedology, which would draw the attention to physical and psychical symptoms of weariness with overburdened children. Hence the demand for more relaxation and also for medical control. With respect to the duration of compulsory education, the A.B.O.B. evaluated from 8 years (6 to 14) to 12 years (6 to 18). In the latter case, it was proposed to oblige those pupils who did not attend secondary schools, to have, during 4 successive years, 100 to 120 hours of training at technical, vocational, agriculture or music schools. Finally, the A.B.O.B. wanted a Compulsory Education Act including an effective sanctioning. Although it provided for an active legal intervention, described by law, it relied on a moral authority of the government, school committees and the teacher himself in the first place. There did not have to be any doubt about the results of compulsory education : a higher authority and status of the teacher, a drop of criminality, the education of intelligent citizens with notions of the true, the good, the just, devoted to the fatherland and working for the material prosperity of the whole of the population. After more than half a century, the teacher apparently still used the same reasoning to obtain social elevation. When it seemed that compulsory and free education would be realised anyhow through the bill Poullet, the A.B.O.B. took position against the subsidization of private Catholic schools and the lack of repressive measures against such institutes where parents could send their children to with the intention to withdraw from compulsory education. The C.O.V. on the other hand, was cock-a-hoop. Due to the First World War it would take some time before the proper results of compulsory education would become clear.

IV.

Through the attitude of the teachers towards compulsory education, it becomes clear how much it was entangled in the political dimension of the matter. The manifest ideological discord from the 70s, focused on the pro or anti standpoint concerning compulsory, where appropriate laicized

education, stresses this political connection. Thus, compulsory education no doubt promoted the political integration of the teachers. The professional associations played a main part in this evolution, since there is a striking parallelism between the foundation and the activity of these associations and the developments in party politics. The efforts for political emancipation, for extension of the franchise, typical for the middle-classes, had a lot to do with it. In all their shades, exactly these middle-classes had a common characteristic which was the interest for education as the very means to share political power and solve the social problems at the same time. They put a pressure upon state and municipality so that they would give special (and much more) attention to education. Here, the primary school teacher was the first interested party whether he was in favour of or against compulsory education. Everyone agreed that there were more classes, schools, teachers, etc. needed and that all kinds of means of coercion had to be used to get the children to school and to keep them there. Non-attendance and early school leaving, with all their malicious consequences, seemed to be the biggest problem. In fact the law of 1914 particularly had in view the fight of non-attendance. With respect to this, it is convenient to point out the internal organizing factor of education as a co-determinant. The demand for more classes, etc. in fact implied a demand for prior conditions to perfect the class methods of teaching and later on the age class system, which the teachers considered to be a superior internal organization system. Hence, the more school adopted more consequent, uniform and severe structures and methods, adjusted the curriculum and the teaching methods to the age, made the pupils move up in age-groups which had to assimilate the same knowledge in the same period, the more difficult it got to integrate a part of the school population in a normal class system, while the conviction rose that non-attendance was as bad for those pupils who did go to school regularly as it was for those who did not. In other words for backward and handicapped pupils, for the relative non-attendance, in short for everything that could obstruct the class methods of teaching, a solution had to be found. The authorities did not remain deaf for this educational contribution. Another pedagogical dimension in the discussions on compulsory education such as the fixation of the starting age at 6, seems to be dealt with rather on purely pragmatical ground. Finally, compulsory education is inseparably linked to the professionalization of the teacher, which has become a fact in a climate of often sharp conflicts on the control of the education system. Compulsory (and free) education for many teachers implied a liberation from the clergy and the local authorities. The teachers were also zealous for a more independent position towards the parents of both those who paid school-fees and those who -with all respect for the economical back-ground- did not go to school regularly. Compulsory education would also imply the spread of all kinds of benefits of education in society, in other words, the teacher managed the very weapon against disturbance of the order. In any case, the teacher considered it a means for social elevation and to enter into relations with the other groups with his new

situation as a basis.

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RESUME

Quand en 1914 on promulgua l'obligation scolaire en Belgique, ce fut l'aboutissement de plus d'un demi siècle de lutte politique acharnée. Ainsi cet obligation scolaire est devenu un thème classique dans l'historiographie politique de la Belgique. D'autres aspects du problème comme la dimension socio-économique ou la dimension pédagogique ont reçu beaucoup moins d'intérêt. Dans notre communication nous avons essayé de définir l'attitude des instituteurs envers l'instruction obligatoire (1830-1914). Nous avons particulièrement mis l'accent sur le problème de l'obligation scolaire en tant qu'instrument d'intégration et d'émancipation politique et souligné son rôle dans la professionalisation des instituteurs. L'organisation pédagogique a également été pris en considération comme facteur déterminant.

Bollettino

centro italiano per la ricerca storico-educativa

Istituto di Pedagogia - Borgo Carissimi 10 - [illegible] - 43100 Parma

anno VI 1986 n°12

Suppl. a "Ricerche Pedagogiche" Reg. al Trib. Parma Decr. 4.2.1980 n. 338 - sped. abb. post. Gruppo IV - Direttore Resp. G. GENOVESI

A MAJOR EDUCATIONAL CONTROVERSY IN FINLAND. ARE SIX-YEAR OLDS READY FOR SCHOOL?

Mikko Ojala

Introduction

The idea of general required school attendance, which had its beginnings in Germany in the late 18th century, was brought through Europe and Scandinavia to Finland, too (Nurmi 1972, p. 37). The public school ideal raised a lively debate in Finland. Though the need and benefit of required schooling was uanimously seen, a heated debate raged over the goals and tasks of the school.

The debate culminated in an exchange of views between two important figures, Snellman and Cygnaeus (cf. Sarjala 1981, pp. 59-67). Snellman emphasized the teaching and educational tasks of the school, Cygnaeus the training tasks. According to Snellman school training should create a basis for intellectual education and get the pupil to realize the need to educate himself. Unlike Cygnaeus, Snellman believed that the school neither could nor should teach a philosophy of life. No person could give this to another, Snellman emphasized. Nor could a philosophy of life be acquired at school, but each had to acquire it personally at the 'school of life'. Thus, it was Snellman's view, for example, that the child's ethical education had to be provided at home.

Cygnaeus, who particularly emphasized the training tasks of the school, wanted to transfer to the school tasks of the family and home. Cygnaeus especially stressed that the task of the school was to better the lot of the lower classes. Because of this he believed that the school should be practically-oriented and teach the important practical skills needed in life and to tend to the individual's personal training. Snellman, on the other hand, strongly emphasized that school training should above all be social training. He did not accept Cygnaeus' idealistic notion of public education and thought that the training offered by the school should emphasize the prevailing social reality. According to Snellman the goal of education should always be real and attainable.

The Finnish school innovation was actively planned and carried out for ten years (cf. Nurmi 1972, pp. 37-39). Cygnaeus was chosen to plan and realize the school system. During the planning stage he quite precisely studied the operations of the public school system in Central Europe, especially in Germany and Switzerland. A public education statute was enacted in 1866 according to Cygnaeus' proposal. The system created provided for four years of schooling in rural areas and six in towns. This differentiation was deemed to be necessary as it was believed that elementary education in the countryside could be arranged in homes and in schools for small children. The statute thus provided for children to begin school at different ages; at age 7 in towns and age 9 in the rural areas. Only in 1921 did a law set the uniform mandatory starting age of 7 for all children and a six year period of schooling.

How Pre-school Education for Six-year Olds is Organized in Finland

An exceptional characteristic of the Finnish school system can on the basis of international comparison be considered to be the late age at which children begin school (Ojala 1984). Since children begin at 7, homes and kindergartens have chiefly handled pre-school education for six-year olds.

Finnish kindergartens have particularly played an important role in this education. Like the German Fröbelian kindergartens, those in Finland began to be established at the turn of the last century to serve 5 1/2 - 6 year olds (Ojala 1984a, p. 32). The popular kindergartens consciously attempted to develop the child's speech, reading readiness, learning of concepts, arithmetic, realization of time and knowledge of the local area. Only in the late 1960s was pre-school education for six-year olds organized solely at kindergartens, either as a part-time activity lasting four hours or as a full-day activity (Ojala 1985b). The size of the kindergarten group was set at a maximum of 25.

The increased interest of the school system in education for six-year olds signified a major change in the prevailing situation. The first concrete demonstration of the awakening of activism was a pre-school trial program in the schools of the city of Lahti (Kymmenen vuotta esikoulutoimintaa 1982, p. 1).

The daycare system was also interested in the Lahti program to such an extent that a similar trial program was initiated in the daycare centers of the city of Jyväskylä (Ibid., p. 1).

The question of pre-schooling had also been important at the 6th Meeting of European Ministers of Education held in Paris in Spring 1969. The international teachers' organization IFTA convened in the summer of the same year in Helsinki and drafted a wide-ranging declaration concerning pre-school education. The trial programs in progress together with the international effect led to the enactment of a law concerning the bases of the school system and provided for the establishment of kindergartens or other such pre-school institutions in addition to a mandatory comprehensive school system in each municipality.

National Planning and the Trial Program for Pre-school Education

National planning for the organization of pre-school education inaugurated in Finland in 1969-70 came about through the activities of the government and the Ministry of Education (Ibid., p. 3). The main responsibility for the national planning was placed on the shoulders of the Pre-school Committee in 1970. The committee presented its report in 1972 (Komiteanmietintö 1972: A13) and drafted the goals and curriculum for pre-school education and also made a proposal for its organization. Their view was that Finland should establish an obligatory free pre-school program for six-year olds under the direction of the school administration, and that this be implemented by 1980.

The Pre-school Committee (1972: A13, p. 64) strongly stressed the urgency of the reform. An extensive reform of the school system had just begun in Finland. The committee believed that the goals would not be fully realized unless the pre-school reform was carried out as quickly as possible. They were also aware of the fact that a reform of intermediate-level and adult education was also beginning and quite clearly expressed the view that the pre-school reform was of greater importance than either of them, and had to be resolved first.

The pre-school trial program under the auspices of the National Board of Education and the National Board of Social Welfare has operated in Finland for over

ten years (cf. Kymmenen vuotta esikoulutoimintaa 1982). The direction and control of the program has rested with the National Board of Education. In addition to those proposals of the Pre-school Committee for the organization of pre-school education, proposals have still been made by the Committee on Training and Education of six-year olds (Komiteanmietintö 1978:5) and the Working Group on the Contents of Children's Daycare (Kuusivuotiaiden lasten esiopetussuunnitelma 1984).

The trial program under the National Board of Education has been realized in conjunction with the comprehensive schools in two ways (Kymmenen vuotta esikoulutoimintaa 1982, pp. 14-15). Part was effectuated by the formation of special pre-school classes for six-year olds. Especially in small rural schools has a model been tested, in which the pre-school class operates together with the 1st and 2nd classes.

During the trial program period a trial curriculum was developed. The basic idea of the curriculum includes a series of key subjects, through which education is concentrated around the following themes:

my immediate environment
home and family
nature in autumn
what is a person like?
children of other countries
transportation services
independence
Christmas
time
material and object
nature in winter
culture: how we lived before/different forms of culture
work
social services
basic economic questions
Easter
the media
nature in spring

In the curriculum educational goals and contents are defined in connection with each key subject. In addition, the curriculum contains proposals for work and activity methods for each key subject and materials. According to the teachers involved the children have progressed in all areas of development, most conspicuously in the socio-emotional sector (Kymmenen vuotta esikoulutoimintaa 1982, p. 16). Pre-schoolage children have adapted, according to estimates of teachers, very well to the school environment and learned to function according to the pre-school work order. The children have generally fit into the group very well, learned to consider others and work relatively independently. Teachers noted that the children's ability to co-operate and observe, in addition to their selfconfidence, increased in particular due to games and play. The teachers also felt that the pre-school has also increased the children's initiative, courage and independence. Attitudes toward pre-school have been positive and school-readiness has increased.

The teachers observed that the children progressed in the following areas: differentiation between the visible and the audible, learning basic intellectual concepts, comparing things, drawing simple conclusions and linguistic expression (Kymmenen vuotta esikoulutoimintaa 1982, p. 16). In learning activities the children demonstrated the ability to concentrate and patience. They also appeared to have shown increased skill in the following: control over balance and arm and leg movements, playing with a ball, climbing, jumping, and the use of pencils, scissors, crayons and brushes. The teachers noted that after having completed pre-school children no longer needed to be helped in eating and dressing situations (Kymmenen vuotta esikoulutoimintaa 1982, p. 16).

The pre-school education programs controlled by the social welfare authorities have, in comparison, been fewer in number than those occurring in association with the school. They have been carried out in such a manner that six-year olds form their own part-time groups at daycare centers (Röman 1971).

The social welfare authorities were thought to have displayed a marked interest in the organization of pre-school education only in the 1980s. In 1981 the National Board of Social Welfare established a work group to draw up a pre-school plan for six-year olds in daycare. The plan was announced in 1984.

The plan is based on the national educational goals of daycare (Komiteanmietintö 1980:31). These goals provide for the aims of pre-school education for six-year olds to be divided into the following areas: physical, social, emotional, aesthetic, intellectual, ethical and religious training. The special developmental characteristics of these children have been considered when the aims were set (cf. Kuusivuotiaiden lasten esiopetussuunnitelma 1984). The plan is detailed and each sub-area has been assigned goals and contents in addition to work and activity methods. The realization is based on key subjects, which according to the plan for the year are (Kuusivuotiaiden lasten esikouluopetussuunnitelma 1982, pp. 117-150):

the coming of autumn
the immediate environment
my home and family
our group
our daycare center
summer
the spring pageant
getting to know the school
spring and Easter
our neighborhood services
folk traditions
in winter
the passage of time
preparing for Christmas
the media
children of other countries

The purpose of the key subjects is to combine the aims and contents of the sub-areas, from the children's perspective, into a suitable whole. The main principles for carrying this out are reality, the child's experiences, the joy of doing and his good mood (Salminen 1984). Play is stressed as a work and activity method. It is recommended that learning situations be built on the child's own activity and realized so that his individuality is considered. An attempt was made in constructing the pre-school plan to insure that by the end of the

pre-school period the child would have gradually learned those daily rhythms and readiness that he would be able to begin school without any difficulty (Salminen 1984).

The planning of activities, observation and evaluation are emphasized in the pre-school plan (Kuusivuotiaiden lasten esikouluopetussuunnitelma 1982, pp. 111-115). Yearly, monthly, weekly and daily plans are recommended for pre-school groups. The plan should take into account each child's individual development and activity needs, previous daycare experiences, developmental retardation, and abnormalities, special talents, the number of children, local conditions and possibilities provided for activities. The daily plan should consider current events and suggestions made by the children. Observation is recommended in order to specify and develop planning. It is possible on this basis to explain group activity, interaction relationships and the children's individual behavior. Written notes are recommended in observing the development of the pre-school group and the individual child. Six-year olds express their creative ability and the basic nature of their imagination in games and activities, in speech and in gestures. Through observation we can insure that the activity is suitable to the child's needs and background experiences. Observations are especially important in noting and evaluating the child's school-readiness and possible developmental redardation.

The evaluative task of pre-school education is to explain how the different sub-area goals have been realized, how each child's individuality has been considered and how the child's development has been furthered (Kuusivuotiaiden lasten esikouluopetussuunnitelma 1982). In evaluating the contents attention should be paid to the extensiveness of the content areas and their mutual emphasis. In evaluating each child the development of his strongest and weakest features should be considered. Evaluation of work and activity methods is also desireable; their diversity, variability and the extent to which they have successfully been applied to the contents need also be examined. There should also be a review of local effects: supervisory teachers should together judge the pre-school results in their own municipality. The importance of the co-operation between elementary school and daycare teachers must be emphasized in this work.

Conclusions

Why is a six-year old girl or boy in Finland not required to attend school while their counterparts in almost all other countries are? Why do some parents today still want to send their children to school only when the child is seven? Why have Finnish educational decision-makers not, despite the positive results obtained in trial programs and studies, found any permanent solution to the questions of pre-school education for six-year olds?

Some answers to these questions can be sought from history. Though Finns were quite enthusiastic and innovative in their reception of the public school ideal in the 19th century, the need for small children to attend school was doubted. These doubts were especially great in the countryside, where children started school at the age of nine. Parents and the school authorities at that time had some special fears, doubts or prejudices concerning small children attending school.

On what could these prejudices have been founded? We need to return to the central principle of Cygnaeus' public school ideal, which desired to shift as much as possible the work of the family and the home to the school. Cygnaeus believed that the school should also tend to the child's philosophy of life. It is obvious that this factor in particular troubled parents.

The teaching of a philosophy of life was not only troubling to parents, but many of Cygnaeus' notions were opposed in particular by his contemporary, Snellman. If the public school would have been established according to his views, it would have stressed intellectual education in place of that concerned with the philosophy of life and practicality. Snellman would have attempted to build a system which would have been in a certain way realistic and founded on the prevailing social reality. The goal of the Snellmanian school would have been realistic and attainable: to get the pupil to realize the need to educate himself.

It would be interesting to consider what the institution of the Snellmanian ideal would have meant in regard to the education of six-year olds. The parents would obviously have been satisfied at least to the extent that the instilling

of a philosophy of life would have been left to them, rather than to the school. Thus parents would have been left with a substantial educational responsibility and not with the feeling that their children had been "stolen" by the school at a young age. Practical education, too, which Cygnaeus emphasized so strongly as the task of the school, would certainly have been gladly handled by the parents, who considered it important.

If, therefore, the child would have been sent to school with the chief purpose specifically being his intellectual education, the parents would probably have been enthusiastic about sending him there as early as possible; which unlike the philosophy of life or practical skills, the home was unable to provide. Finnish parents, as certainly as parents elsewhere, have always been proud of children who learn to read early. When we realize that the goals of pre-school education for six-year olds are directed specifically toward the development of reading and writing readiness, the possibilities for beginning school as early as 5 - 6 years of age would, perhaps, not feel as insurmountable in the school envisaged by Snellman as in the Cygnaeusian, regardless of the fact that Snellman also personally opposed the kindergarten ideal embraced by Cygnaeus, which he brought to Finland along with the public school ideal (cf. Ojala 1984).

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SUMMARY

Unlike many other countries, in Finland six-year olds are not required by law to attend school. Pre-school education for them in Finland has in part been conducted by kindergartens and daycare centers. In conjunction with the school and to an ever increasing degree there has been an attempt to arrange voluntary pre-school education for six-year olds. Planning of pre-school education and alternatives to it in Finland have been designed, tested and studied repeatedly and through many approaches. In this article I attempt to find the reasons why the question of pre-school education for six-year olds could not be resolved. A possible historical explanation offers conflicting points of view, which had already been expressed in the goals and tasks of the public school in the 19th century in Finland. The ideas of Cygnaeus, in winning out, placed a great deal on the shoulders of the school, including many tasks based in the home. The school, according to this notion, became practically-oriented and also taught children a philosophy of life. The Snellmanian ideas, which lost out, saw the school as focussing its greatest attention, in particular, on the child's intellectual education by getting the child to realize the need to educate himself. The article considers what the Snellmanian ideal would have meant in relation to the pre-school education of six-year olds. The answer draws a careful conclusion, according to which Snellman's ideal of intellectual education would have been able to free parents and perhaps also school authorities from many prejudices and fears which have been directed toward the child's starting school at an early age in Finland.

19TH CENTURY IDEAS ON COMPULSORY EDUCATION. WHO WAS COMPELLED?

Patricia Smart

The establishment of a system of education which was both universal and effective presented an almost insoluble nexus of problems to successive 19th century governments. Although government aid increased from £30,000 pounds in 1839 to £798,000 in 1860. Very few people thought that it was the business of the government to accept sole responsibility for education. It was hoped that an effective system of education could be established by voluntary bodies. Only gradually did the government and Parliament come to accept the unwelcome conclusion that a really effective and universal system of education could only be obtained by government compulsion, and legislation.

The establishment of a free and compulsory system of education took many years to accomplish because there seemed to be so many factors operating against such a scheme. The most important problem revolved round the difficulty of mustering the political and economic will to establish such an educational system. There were a number of compelling arguments against government intervention in education, and on the whole, few in its favour Indeed the very necessity of making the government responsible for education may have been seen as an indication of failure. This was a) the failure of voluntary bodies to provide adequate school provision and b) the failure of parents to take advantage of the educational opportunities provided on a voluntary basis.

The most powerful argument against the setting up of a system of education which was both free and compulsory centred round a number of

firmly held beliefs. The arguments were both philosophical and economic and tend to re-inforce each other. These beliefs can be set out as follows.

1. There was a belief that it was entirely inappropriate for the government to control education. Any system of education which was government controlled was bound to be undesirable.

2. The whole problem of establishing a universal system of education was vitiated by the 'religious question'. Government support meant inevitably that public money would be utilised in support of what might appear to be 'sectarian' education. Until the 'religious' question was settled, there could be little hope of establishing a government supported scheme of education.

3. The question of establishing compulsory education was tacitly, but firmly tied to the question of 'free' education. Again it was a firmly held belief that it would be wrong to pay for the education of children whose parents could afford to pay for this commodity. 'Free' education would entail subsidising the education of children whose parents could pay for it. 'Free' education, it was believed, was devalued education, for people valued only what they paid for.

4. The problem of enforcing compulsory education was itself a monumental task, best avoided if possible. The arguments against greater government involvement, and government compulsion were both economic and psychological. Thus, in the enquiry of 1834, the question was asked,

"Do you consider that the aid or interference of the legislature is required for promoting general education in the country".[1] The Government suggests that the added expense paid by taxation would raise feelings against education. Increasing taxation to support education

would immediately contribute to resentment against education. My belief is that a sure way to make education unpopular and thus arest its progress could not be devised, than making it the cause either of a general tax or an increase in the parish rate. The question "Do you consider that a compulsory education would be justified either on principles of public utility or expediency", was at this stage, answered.

"I should regard anything of the kind as utterly destructive of the end it has in view. Suppose the people of England were taught to bear it and be forced to educate their children by penalties, education would be made absolutely hateful in their eyes and would speedily cease to be endured. The fear regarding government control of education was succintly expressed.

Are there any other objections to a national system of education,

> I do not well perceive how such a system can be established without placing in the hands of the government, that is the minister of the day, the means of dictating opinions and principles of the people" In other words - state control might entail government indoctrination.

No doubt much of the Newcastle Report should be taken with a large pinch of salt. Nonetheless the report draws attention to the practical problems establishing an education system. The sentiment against compulsory education was again repeated.

> "Any universal compulsory system appears to us neither attainable nor desirable -

An attempt to replace an independent system of education by a compulsory system managed by the Government would be met by objections, both religious and political".

The committee stated that the programme of increasing education was progressing well under the present system. They believed "that our education is advancing successfully without it, we have not thought that a scheme for compulsory education to be universally applied in this country can be entertained and a practical possibility".

But in many ways the Newcastle Report reflected conservative attitudes. A fear of either universal or compulsory education reflected fears regarding expenditure as much as reflecting thought on the nature and value of education. However, the Forster Act of 1870 and some of the debates following the introduction of the bill, reflect ambivalence. Gradually the arguments against compulsion seemed to lose their cogency.

But though the Forster Act avoided making compulsory education the function of central control, attitudes towards compulsion began to change. The argument previously brought against compulsion on the grounds that it was incompatible with the freedom of the individual were less strongly in evidence. The obvious reason for this was the fear that unless education was compulsory, the children most in need of education would not be taught by the system at all. The hope that good schools would ensure school attendance, was to be an illusory hope. A report of Mathew Arnold[2] describes the way in which the notion of compulsory education was becoming more familiar. He claimed that throughout his district 'the idea of compulsory education is becoming a familiar idea with those interested in schools'. He

believed that when the inadequacy of the present system was fully realised, the antagonism towards compulsory education would decrease. The main difficulty would be that of implementing it "The difficult thing would not be to pass such a law making education compulsory: the difficult thing would be to work such a law after we had got it! The Prussian system of education was frequently held up as a system which might well be copied, but Arnold warned, in Prussia attitudes towards education were very different from those in England - "In Prussia, which is often quoted, education is not flourising because it is compulsory, it is compulsory because it is flourishing". Arnold draws a pessimistic (but no doubt accurate account) of English attiutdes towards education. The Prussians prize culture and instruction. "In this country people prefer to the- politics, station, business, money, pleasure and many other things": Thus Arnold suggested until these attitudes had been changed fundamentally, education even if compulsory, would have little effect. Legislation could have no effect 'until we cease to prefer these things'.

Arnold with some insight, saw that an effective, compulsory system of education could only work if people valued, and saw the point of the education they were receiving. Those concerned with education and the politics of education were inclined to believe that education could bring about this change. It was the belief that education could bring about this kind of cultural transformation which inspired and motivated educationalists.

The debates and amendments which dogged the 1876 education act centred more on the religious problem than upon the question of compulsion per se. But the arguments suggest that the Government could have imposed a compulsory clause into the 1870 Act. Some members doubted the wisdom of compelling children to attend inadequate schools. Improve the system first

the question of compulsion might then cease to be of importance. The very purpose of the 1870 Act was to extend and improve the system of education which had developed in the past thirty years. One member argued. 'It is obvious you cannot compel children with any reason or justice to go to schools which are non-efficient or to schools where there is no room for them? The truth of the matter was that compulsion was not feasible at that time. 'Compulsion is a thing which remains some distance from us at present. Some felt that making compulsion a matter for local bye-laws are inequitable. It would be unreasonable to have compulsion in one part of the country and not another though, in fact something like this actually occurred.

The question of compulsion was discussed at length by Sir Charles Dilke,[4] who argued for some form of central compulsion "The Bill that we have before us does not do this",yet - he asks "what are the arguments of principle that can be directed against compulsion".

The usual argument given was that 'compulsion' was incompatible with liberty. But Dilke argued it did not interfere with liberty in such a manner as to lessen happiness. Compulsory education increases the blessings of the state should be welcomed. Dilke also put forward a couple of further assumptions regarding compulsion. He seems to have believed that compulsion would only need to be employed to the first generation of school children. Once children had been to school, they would want the blessings of education for their own children. "It interfer remember, only with the liberty of one generation, for the first well taught generation will need no interferences".

Parents who neglected to send their children to school were wicked because they neglected to do their children good, when they could have done

so by sending them to school. "There is no such thing as a right to do harm to others; and you burlesque the name of liberty, when you apply it to the forcible withdrawing of education by a father from a child to the degradation of the infant and the danger of the state". Having disposed of the assumption that compulsory education was contrary to personal liberty, he goes on to examine the argument that could be put forward in its favour. "You have in my opinion, a sufficient ground for compulsion, in the mere fact that your statistics show, that owing to the criminal indifference of parents, thousands of children are growing up untaught to their own misery, and the misery too, of all who are citizens of the same state".

Similar arguments were discussed by John Stuart Hill. The chief difficulty with compulsory education was that its aim was to enforce parents to behave in a certain way towards their children. Thus, in one sense, any compulsory system involved two kinds of compulsion. The parent was enjoined to take a particular cause of action on behalf of his child. This presupposition fundamentally changed the relationship of parents towards the child. A third party ie. the government exerted influence. Some might say that this drastically curtailed the parents' right towards their children. 'It is in the case of children that misapplied notions of liberty are a real obstacle to the fulfilment of the state of its duties. One would think that a man's children were literally, not metaphorically a part of himself'. He argued that parents had responsibilities towards their children. "It still remains unrecognised that to bring a child into existence without a fair prospect of being able - not only to provide good for its body .. but instruction and training for the mind is a moral crime both against the unfortunate offspring and against society". If the parent

could not fulfil this obligation then it was the duty of the state to do. So The government had tended to subjugate the problem of compulsory education to that of sorting out, and coming to a compromise upon, the sectarian problems. Education was a 'battlefield for sects and parties causing the time and labour which should have been spent in educating to be wasted in quarelling about education'. But although Mill was in support of compulsory education, he depreciated the very notion of a state education, thus endorsing the arguments of those who feared that state education would entail what would later have been described as indoctrination. 'A general state education is a mere contrivence for moulding people to be exactly like each other'.

Mill tied the idea of compulsory education in that of compulsory examinations. 'An age might be fixed at which every child must be examined to ascertain if he or she is able to read. If a child proves unable the father, unless he has some sufficient ground of excuse, might be subjected to a moderate fine. Thus, Mill thought it was necessary to enforce the learning of certain minimum skills and that these minimum skills should be compulsory'. Beyond the acquisition of these minimum skills education and examinations were to be voluntary.

It was, Mill argued, misplaced notions of liberty which prevented the moral obligations of parents to their children being recognised. When the parent failed to exert this responsibility, then the state must exert it on his behalf. Not to educate a child properly was to perpetuate on evil. No one had the liberty or right to do evil to others and to fail to educate a child was to do him great evil. Government interference could be justified on the grounds that greater good could be achieved by this interference than

without it.

Compulsion then could be justified, or be thought to be justified on the grounds that to leave vast numbers of children uneducated was an evil. But though compulsion was enforced in 1876, education was not free until 1892. The great number of children which the government hoped to educate, managed to escape the net. The people who suffered most, were the 'independent poor' governments in theory wished to help. The irresponsible parents who did not care to educate their children managed to elude the 'attendance man'. It was the poor, struggling to collect the 'school pence' who suffered most.

The National Education League campaigned for compulsory and free education the children of poor must be given an education equal to that of the rich. The abolition of school fees - even if three pence per week, lessened the anxiety of the poor who genuinely wished to educate their children. But whether free and compulsory education had the great 'civilising effect' for which many hoped, is a very different story. In many ways, the education acts can be seen as reflecting attitudes towards the employment of children in factories. To many of the poor, compulsory education was only acceptable when employment was impossible.

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SUMMARY

The task of providing a system of universal compulsory and free education occupied the attention of Parliament for thee quarters of the nineteenth century. But many factors combined to thwart the efforts of those wishing to increase and expand educational provision. The inability to settle the 'religious question' to allay the fears of the opposing sects and come to some agreement vis a vis denominational and sectarian teaching, concentrated the energies of the most enthusiastic educationists. While the religious argued the poor were left untaught. Fear of State control of education united many against the very notion of a state system of education. It was only the fear of uneducated and illiterate people, that tended to unite the differing sectors in favour of education. Most of the reformers justified the imposition of compulsory education on the grounds that education was of great benefit to the poor. But to the poor themselves the alleged beneficeries of the system, the legislation must have been an intolerable burden. It was not only the few school pence which increased the poverty, but the loss of the child's wages. Compulsory education was not therefore generally welcomed and it was only the increasing power of the factory, forbidding child lobour that rendered the system acceptable. The law-abiding, conscientious poor were easier to prosecute for failure to send their children to school, than were the wandering less stable elements of the population which the Government had been so anxious to bring into the educational net.

SCUOLA DELL'OBBLIGO E NUOVA ALFABETIZZAZIONE: PARLARE E SCRIVERE DALLA SCUOLA MEDIA UNIFICATA (1962) AGLI ANNI OTTANTA

Patrizia Mazzotta

Alla scuola dell'obbligo spetta l'alfabetizzazione di base, in senso sia strumentale, cioé saper materialmente leggere e scrivere, sia culturale, cioé possedere le abilità e competenze sufficienti a procurarsi competenze ulteriori, più specialistiche e complesse.

La scuola elementare e la media inferiore sembrerebbero assolvere questo compito, stando almeno ai dati ISTAT per il 1985, secondo i quali l'evasione dell'obbligo è ridotta a percentuali irrisorie e il numero dei licenziati tocca la quasi totalità degli iscritti (98,8% per le elementari; 97,8% per la media). Esiste, tuttavia, a fronte di questa realtà statistica estremamente incoraggiante, un risvolto della medaglia che non può non preoccupare. In primo luogo, una scuola che "licenzia" quasi tutti i suoi frequentanti mostra o di essere un'istituzione altamente produttiva - ma questo non sembra veritiero, viste le critiche che da più parti si muovono alla preparazione di studenti e professori - oppure semplicemente di aver rinunciato a qualunque tipo di controllo sui livelli minimi di competenza richiesti "in uscita" e, quindi, a qualunque forma di selezione culturale.

Se quest'ultima ipotesi fosse esatta, verrebbe meno il rapporto di proporzionalità diretta fra alfabetizzazione e diffusione dei titoli di studio: al diploma di qualunque livello dell'obbligo non corrisponderebbe infatti un reale passo avanti nella lotta all'analfabetismo. Appare necessaria, a questo punto, una precisazione del concetto di "analfabeta", con cui

si sogliono indicare non solo coloro che non possiedono gli "strumenti" elementari per sillabare e scrivere sia pure il proprio nome, ma anche coloro che, pur sapendo materialmente leggere e scrivere, non sono tuttavia in grado di comprendere quello che leggono o di codificare per iscritto il più semplice testo.

Il primo tipo di analfabetismo si è ridotto radicalmente grazie alla elevazione dell'obbligo fino al quattordicesimo anno di età (1962), parallelamente accompagnata da una più capillare diffusione dell'italiano standard, a cui hanno contribuito anche i mass media e una maggiore mobilità geografica e sociale (De Mauro, 1970). Il secondo tipo, invece, permane solidamente e viene da De Mauro (L'Espresso, 1986:79) stimato intorno al venti per cento, inglobando l'ampio numero di individui che non posseggono titolo di studio e normalmente non leggono assolutamente nulla.

Con buona approssimazione si può ritenere che molti analfabeti "funzionali" (per la definizione, v. De Mauro, Ibidem) siano anche esclusivamente dialettofoni o abbiano una conoscenza solo passiva dell'italiano. In proposito, infatti, Gensini (Gensini, 1985: 289-329) afferma che la percentuale dei dialettofoni esclusivi è di poco superiore al venti per cento e ne sottolinea la quasi coincidenza con quella degli analfabeti "strumentali" e "funzionali". La dialettofonia, diffusa nelle zone rurali e montane, più che in quelle cittadine e a Sud e nelle Isole più che a Nord, testimonia che l'evasione dell'obbligo e la mortalità scolastica, pur essendo scese a livelli quasi irrisori, non sono evidentemente distribuite uniformemente sul territorio nazionale, per cui i dati statistici appaiono di trilussiana memoria, lasciando supporre un'alta concentrazione di analfabeti "funzionali" in alcune zone più che in altre.

Parallelamente, è cresciuto notevolmente il numero degli i

talofoni e di coloro che parlano la lingua nazionale anche in situazioni colloquiali e familiari, così come si diffonde sempre più la conoscenza dei linguaggi settoriali, soprattutto scientifico-tecnologici. L'espandersi dell'italofonia e la possibilità di identificare, sia pure con qualche approssimazione, l'analfabeta dei due tipi col dialettofono esclusivo non deve però trarre in inganno circa i livelli culturali reali di quanti posseggono oggi un titolo di studio superiore o di compimento dell'obbligo. Non sempre, infatti, l'italofono può ritenersi alfabetizzato, anche se si tratta in questo caso di un genere diverso di analfabetismo, che "ritorna" gradualmente dopo la fine degli studi o che, forse, permane allo stato latente lungo l'intero curriculum scolastico, per poi semplicemente accentuarsi col tempo.

Il persistere dell'analfabetismo, nonostante il diploma scolastico sia pure elementare, può dimostrare o che alla durata scolastica non è corrisposto un proporzionale accrescimento culturale - inteso sia come capacità di astrazione e concettualizzazione, sia come arricchimento lessicale e sintattico - o, che, terminati gli studi, sia subentrato un rigetto totale nei confronti dei libri e della carta stampata in genere. Questa figura di analfabeta è meno univocamente connotabile delle altre, poiché emerge "fra le righe" delle statistiche ed è identificabile, grosso modo, in coloro che, pur possedendo un titolo di studio, sono in grado a malapena di capire, leggendoli, testi molto semplici e con altrettanta facilità riescono a mettere insieme per iscritto alcune formule di circostanza.

In questa fase le percentuali intervengono a supportare la tesi dell'analfabeta italofono e scolarizzato: fra coloro che non leggono mai un libro o un qualsivoglia giornale compare un numero relativamente alto di cosiddetti "professionisti", cioé di persone che svolgono lavori che richiedono un titolo di scuo

la superiore o addirittura la laurea (non leggono l'1,4% di laureati e il 3,5% di diplomati al superiore; il 6,5% di liberi professionisti e imprenditori, il 2,8% di dirigenti e impiegati).

Questo dato è apparentemente in contrasto con l'altro, secondo il quale i giovani oggi leggono più che in passato e possiedono più numerose conoscenze. Posto però che le statistiche considerano per "lettura" non solo quella dei libri, ma anche quella di giornali, riviste, fumetti, ecc., la contraddizione si attenua allorché si consideri che solo da alcuni anni i fumetti contano numerosissimi titoli per tutte le età (non solo per l'infanzia) e per tutti i gusti e altrettanto dicasi per i periodici, grossolani o sofisticati a seconda del palato degli acquirenti, per cui oggi si accostano alla parola scritta anche coloro che in altri tempi, avendo a disposizione solo il libro e, tutt'al più, i quotidiani, se ne tenevano ben lontani.

Particolare diffusione e seguito hanno, inoltre, oggi i fascicoli divulgativi, venduti in edicola, sugli argomenti più disparati, dalle guerre, ai "corpi speciali", alla cibernetica, alla vita degli animali, e persino, alla lingua italiana.

Senza voler entrare nel merito della validità scientifica di queste pubblicazioni, resta tuttavia da considerare che la comprensibilità di testi in partenza destinati al largo pubblico è certamente maggiore di quella della saggistica e letteratura e che la visualizzazione dei significati offerta dalle illustrazioni facilita l'interpretazione della parola scritta. Non sarebbe quindi male chiedersi non solo "quanto", ma anche "cosa" leggono gli italiani. Inoltre, fumetti, fotoromanzi, dispense storico-geografiche a colori, ecc. sono letti con la piena partecipazione emotiva, da Eco definita "orgiastica", ti

pica del lettore "ingenuo di primo livello" (Eco, 1985:142-144), oppure sono sottoposti a lettura critica, sul piano sia dei contenuti che del linguaggio?

L'accostamento parola-immagine, il riferimento ad una "enciclopedia" minima che si suppone possegga anche il lettore più sprovveduto e incolto sono appunto caratteristiche che accomunano una certa stampa alle produzioni televisive e cinematografiche. Pur senza esprimere un giudizio di valore su questi testi, peraltro qualitativamente vari, non si può non sottolineare l'intrinseca negatività del progressivo assimilarsi strutturale fra media "caldi" e "freddi" (per riprendere una nota distinzione di McLuhan, 1966). La "scrittura", infatti, laddove non sia accompagnata dall'immagine, implica una linearità di concatenazione a cui corrisponde un'analoga linearità del pensiero, che rischia, invece, di andare perduta allorché prevalga anche nei testi scritti la simultaneità degli stimoli interpretativi.

Alla percentuale già in sé sconvolgente di laureati che non leggono assolutamente nulla, paghi di quanto illo tempore impararono a scuola, si potrebbe aggiungere un numero statisticamente imprecisato, ma certamente non irrisorio, di individui che leggono solo stampa d'informazione o fumetti, ma non acquistano mai né romanzi né saggistica. Analoghe considerazioni si possono effettuare circa l'italofonia: si generalizza l'uso della lingua nazionale, ma di quale italiano si tratta?

Se l'accostamento analfabetismo-dialettofonia risulta convincente, non lo è altrettanto quello fra licenza di scuola dell'obbligo e italofonia. In molti casi, infatti, l'italofonia è esclusivamente di tipo passivo o si traduce nell'uso di un linguaggio grammaticalmente sciatto e lessicalmente povero,

intriso di ripetizioni e di formule, la cui stereotipizzazione a tutto fa pensare fuorché alla creatività della lingua parlata. In questo ritratto linguistico, però, si possono riconoscere non solo molti licenziati della scuola media unificata, ma anche molti diplomati e laureati; forse proprio coloro che, benestanti e sicuri di sé e della propria cultura, non si fanno scrupolo di confessare che non acquistano né leggono mai libri o giornali.

Posto che la lettura - e quindi la scrittura, per la bifrontalità che le lega - è una forma di comunicazione, cioé di rapporto interpersonale basato sul linguaggio attraverso il quale l'io si rende cosciente di sé e nello stesso tempo si relativizza, arricchendosi nella relazione con l'altro interlocutore (v. Ponzio, 1974 e 1980), la rinuncia ad essa implica un depauperamento sul piano sia linguistico che concettuale, data l'interdipendenza di pensiero e linguaggio. Il testo scritto, inoltre, si offre unidimensionalmente alla comprensione, non presentando segni tratti da altri linguaggi (iconico, gestuale, musicale, ecc.) che fungano da interpretanti surrogatori del segno verbale sconosciuto, per cui consente un notevole ampliamento lessicale.

Se lo scrivere rispetta la stessa linearità espositiva e concettuale che dirige il leggere consapevole, il parlare segue regole in parte più elastiche, ma che devono essere comunque imparate, esattamente come bisogna "imparare" a scrivere. La lettura si inserisce in questa situazione apprenditiva come una specie di pass-partout, che fornisce, da un lato, modelli articolati di scrittura, dall'altro, racchiude una ricchezza di costrutti e di lessico indispensabili per un parlare sfumato e multifunzionale.

I programmi ministeriali del 1979 per la scuola media inferiore pongono come fine di essa "il raggiungimento di una preparazione culturale di base" e se ne trova conferma nei Nuovi Programmi per le elementari (1985), di cui è riconosciuto "compito specifico" il "realizzare la prima alfabetizzazione culturale". Per "culturale" bisogna intendere un livello più alto della mera competenza strumentale, ma l'impressione che si trae è che i licenziati dell'obbligo (e spesso anche i diplomati e i laureati) non conoscano il significato di parole oggi largamente usate e date per note anche dagli insegnanti.

Nella scuola dell'obbligo si leggono, si riassumono e si commentano le opere letterarie e, in molte classi, gli articoli di riviste e quotidiani, ma i licenziati che dichiarano di leggere libri sono intorno al 55% e intorno al 65% i lettori di quotidiani e/o periodici. Di questi ultimi i dati ISTAT riportano le percentuali relative ai settori del giornale letti; la parte del leone la fanno, nell'ordine, la cronaca locale, lo sport e la politica-attualità.

Circa i libri non ci sono dati sul genere, ma, se si osserva nelle vetrine dei librai il gran numero di romanzi legati ai film, di lavori connessi ad avvenimenti di attualità o di biografie personali scritte da attori famosi, si deduce che questi generi "tirano" più delle opere cosiddette "classiche". Per queste si assiste ad un rilancio in veste tipografica e con rilegature pseudo-ricercate, dai costi contenuti; ma la televisione sembra le reclamizzi più come orpelli da tappezzeria che come strumenti di cultura.

Le statistiche ISTAT, pur non fornendo notizie circa la capacità di comprensione di libri e giornali da parte dei lettori dichiarati, che peraltro sono poco più della metà del totale dei licenziati di scuola media inferiore, ci dicono però

che l'88,7% afferma genericamente di "leggere". Molti, quindi, leggono altro rispetto a libri, quotidiani e periodici; in ogni caso leggono generi di scrittura che non rientrano nelle letture scolastiche canoniche.

C'è da chiedersi allora se un libretto di istruzioni per l'uso, una ricetta culinaria, una descrizione ambientale, un depliant di viaggio, che nelle scuole non si leggono, siano capiti da quell'88,7%, ma, anche, se vengano compresi un romanzo o una poesia non dissimili da quelli previsti nei programmi di italiano della media inferiore e perciò certamente studiati dal cento per cento dei licenziati.

Analoghi interrogativi sorgono sulla capacità di produzione attiva di testi; fino all'entrata in vigore dei programmi del '79 per la media inferiore, l'unico tipo di testo scritto, riconosciuto ufficialmente come prova di esame e attraverso cui l'alunno esercitava la propria creatività linguistica, era il "tema". Questo strano incrocio di generi letterari continua a spadroneggiare nelle scuole; i vademecum per svolgere un buon tema o con temi già svolti circolano in abbondanza e in molti concorsi la selezione avviene in base ad un tema. Ciononostante molti scolarizzati concepiscono di fatto il tema come un ben riuscito collage, testimoniando così la scarsa fruttuosità del diuturno addestramento scolastico.

Con i programmi del '79 la situazione forse è cambiata - anche se tale mutamento è tutto da dimostrare - ma resta da chiedersi quali siano le produzioni scritte alternative al tema in cui i licenziati di scuola media sono in grado di cimentarsi. In altri termini, quella scuola che trent'anni fa insegnava a scrivere un tema decente, utile almeno nelle prove d'esame e nei concorsi, quali elaborati insegna a scrivere oggi?

Se si conducesse nelle scuole un'indagine che richiedesse di scrivere una lettera, la cronaca di un avvenimento o il funzionamento di un macchinario, certamente non mancherebbero le sorprese, magari anche deludenti.

Contraltare orale dei temi sono le interrogazioni, fondate su uno schema dialogico rigido, asetticamente verbale, da cui sono rigorosamente esclusi tutti quei segni non verbali, dal gesto alla pausa, che completano, arricchendole, le produzioni orali extrascolastiche. Ancora una volta, dunque, sorge il dubbio che si impari a parlare fuori della scuola, nelle sedi di partito, sui posti di lavoro, nei circoli ricreativi o dalla televisione, col risultato che l'italiano adoperato appare un miscuglio di termini settoriali o addirittura gergali, di regionalismi e neologismi talora assurdi, in ogni caso poco originale e inadeguato a concettualizzazioni elaborate.

Presagire in quell'analfabetismo "di ritorno", a cui si accennava in apertura, un rischio culturale per il futuro non è azzardato, a meno che non si decida di approfondire la conoscenza della realtà scolastica dell'obbligo, attraverso indagini sulla comprensione del significato di parole oggi comunemente usate o di testi scritti di vario genere e attraverso tests che richiedano la produzione di testi scritti brevi, ma insoliti per la scuola.

Solo appurando il grado reale di analfabetismo che permane nelle maglie scolastiche, infatti, sarà possibile aprire la scuola all'informatica e alla telematica - che richiedono capacità astrattive e preparazione culturale notevoli - e farne nello stesso tempo il luogo reale di produzione del sapere e di affinamento degli strumenti concettuali e metodologici che mettono l'individuo in condizione di autoaggiornarsi e autoeducarsi permanentemente.

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SUMMARY

Illiteracy can be of two kinds: a) people who can neither read nor write their names; b) people who haven't finished compulsory education courses, and only have instrumental skills in reading and writing, but can't understand what they read and can't write the easiest letter. From the ISTAT data of 1985 we can pick out a third kind, composed by people who have educational qualifications, but don't read anything at all and write only what they need for their job.

From the same research we learn that young generations read more than in the past and about 88% of the people who have completed compulsory education read-while the rest don't open books. Yet about 65% of them read magazines and newspapers and about 55% read books. So we can suppose that a lot of literate people read only comics or something else. It would be of educational interest to know 'what' exactly they read.

About 20% of Italian people speak only dialect, which is almost the same number as the illiterate, but what kind of Italian language do the others speak and where do they learn it? From school or from the mass-media? Therefore the problem is what sort of reading, speaking and writing does compulsory education teach and what do students really read, speak and write?At school students study literature and read novels and sometimes newspapers, but can they really understand them? Students often can't write a letter or a story or 'instructions for use', nor essays, even if these are the most common writing tasks in compulsory schools.

This paper suggests a research on the true levels of students' learning, from 1962 (when middle school became compulsory) until today, and tries to identify some educational problems connected with the increasing spread of mass-media and computers.

NORMAL AND NON-NORMAL CHILDREN IN THE LIGHT OF COMPULSORY EDUCATION IN THE NETHERLANDS, CIRCA 1850-CIRCA 1920

Jeroen Dekker

1. INTRODUCTION

In this paper, attention will be given to the education of so called 'retarded' children in the light of the development of compulsory education. Contempories define this category as follows: retarded children are those pupils (!) who cannot follow succesfully normal schooling and stay down twice or three times(1). As you see, for these contempories, 'retardation' was measured in function of normal, i.e. succesful, schooling.

First, I shall say something about formal and informal compulsory education. Formal compulsory education was introduced in The Netherlands only in 1901. In fact, however, most schoolable children attended the school already and that situation was regarded as normal.

Secondly, a local experiment on the education of 'retarded' children will be treated in the light of the above mentioned informal and 'normal' situation. I shall give some details about the famous school of Fokke Yntes Kingma, schoolmaster in Utrecht in the period 1858-1861.

Thirdly, we shall give a short survey of the activities for the education of retarded children between 1890 and 1920, the period of formalization of compulsory education (1901) and of special education as well (1920). I shall give a quantitative survey, and treat the co-operation between the pedagogical, psychological and medical disciplines (sometimes combined into the 'pedagogical pathology'). Further, we shall

try to explain why the real expansion of special schooling took place just in these years.

Finally, there is the problem of the 'two nations'. In the second half of the nineteenth century, priority was given to residential methods in re-educating the 'criminal' and 'deprived' youth, as one of the instruments to master the problem of the 'two nations', as put into words by Benjamin Disraeli(2). These 'abnormal children' belonged, in most cases, to one nation indeed, the 'working class'. I shall tackle - certainly not resolve- the problem if the concepts of 'normal' and 'non-normal', as inspired by Michel Foucault(3), are to combine with the concept of Disraeli of the 'two nations', in clarifying the category of 'retarded' children.

2. FORMAL AND INFORMAL COMPULSORY EDUCATION

In 1901, formal compulsory education was introduced in The Netherlands. This introduction was rather late, compared with comparable countries. This was first of all the result of a long political struggle about the character and subsidizing of the non-public schools. Certainly, results were made on the quality of schooling, e.g. in 1857 and in 1878. Especially, the liberals were interested in improving the public schools. Every improvement, however, has to be seen within the context of the division in public and private, i.e. protestant and roman catholic, schools. Even, the struggle for a subsidized private school system was an important motor of the origins of the dutch political parties(4). Although this political development retarded the existence of formal compulsory education, in fact there was a great consensus concerning the necessity of elementary education for all boys and girls

between six and twelve, approximately. Liberals and conservatives, roman catholics as well as protestants, and later on social-democrats, agreed on this starting-point: all these children, belonging to the bourgeoisie as well as to the working class, had to attend school.

Two main questions dominated the debate during more than half a century. First, there was the question about which authority had to force the school attendance, the State or the parents. The orthodox protestants were greatly opposed against the influence of the pagan state. The parental control was out of discussion. Secondly, there was the question of subsidizing the private schools. The main issue of this educational and political struggle was the question , if protestant and catholic education, in conformity with the will of the parents, could be possible as an institution, subsidized by the State, or not. Eventually, the religious parties won a victory, in 1920.

Before 1901, informal compulsory education was accepted as normal. Since 1806, the dutch education system was highly modernized, and in 1857, new improvements were made, especially concerning the process of lifting the level of the man power. A great part of the schoolable youth attended schools(5). Moreover, child labour was made less attractive by means of Child Acts in 1874 and 1889. These Acts formed, in fact, the other side of the coming law concerning compulsory education. There were also the demands, made by poor relief. One of these demands consisted in compulsory attendance at school of the children of the poor. So, the next generation should support oneself.

Informal compulsory education was an accepted idea for decades before 1901. In reports of Local School Committees, working around 1850/1860, we see numbers of attendance at school, related to the total number of

school-age children. The children left over are regarded as a problem: they didn't attend school(6). Attendance at school was seen as normal and moral behaviour. Without that behaviour, society and individuals should get into danger. In the residential re-education houses for criminal and deprived children, we can see the same development. It was out of question that all these boys and girls should be instructed elementary(7). Instructing the youth was seen as necessary.

Therefore, it is not surprising that the results of the introduction for formal compulsory education in 1901 were limited. The greater part of the youth, about 90 percent, attended school already. There was, however, one great exception: the 'retarded children'. They were regarded, more and more, as a social, moral, pedagogical and, sometimes, medical problem. In the next section, I shall give attention to them.

3. EDUCATING THE 'RETARDED': KINGMA'S SCHOOL AT UTRECHT AS AN EARLY EXAMPLE

After 1850, economic conditions improved and the standard of living became higher. The idea of the 'normal child' was becoming reality, in sofar the normal child attended school, learning the three R's. In these years, the first experiments with education for the retarded children were seen, in The Netherlands, as a normalization activity. Fokke Yntes Kingma was a schoolmaster. In the forties, he educated 'normal' young children between four and six years, in Amersfoort, a little city in the surroundings of Utrecht. His private institution for pre-school education got official permission of the local administration. This permission was explicitly restricted to pre-school age, because competition with other schools, e.g. public schools, had to be

prevented. Kingma instructed his children in the three R's, on a very elementary level of course. Through this experience, he was trained in instructing children very slowly and systematically. His children were, of course, not retarded, since they were only very young. Financial reasons- the forties were bad years for schoolmasters too- urged Kingma to instruct other children too, in the evening. Local administration was against this competition, but in fact, Kingma limited his attention to retarded schildren. He introduced himself as a pupil of P.J.Prinsen, the famous director of the College of Education in Haarlem, and strongly influenced by Pestalozzi. Perhaps, a certain arrogance caused problems in Amersfoort education world. In any case, Kingma changed his job and specialized in educating retarded children in the style of Pestalozzi(8).

After working several years in The Hague, he came to Utrecht in 1857. He established a 'supplementsschool', or private 'Hilfsschule'. As usually, Kingma introduced himself with stories of praise. In this case, a colleague working in Voorburg, in the surroundings of The Hague, wrote a letter in which he recommended Kingma's method of learning at the same time writing and reading. The importance of this letter is great. The Home Secretary himself, in these years responsable for education affairs too, had instructed the Voorburg headmaster to the investigation. The results, as laid down in the letter, were very positive indeed. We shall quote a part of this letter, in which attention is given to the relation of Kingma's ideas with German pedagogics too.

"He takes representations, explaining themselves, instead of the objects; these representations of the objects are familiar to the children and part of their environment. So ideas are realized, which

were invented by famous pedagogues and, e.g. Diesterweg in his 'Der Unterricht in der Kleinkinder-Schule' etc.(...): 'Wie wenn es möglich, wäre durch sinnliche Bilder alle einzelnen Laute darzustellen und mit diesen Laute unmittelbar die Buchstaben zu verknupfen?'etc. He is realizing something, which was suggested by a famous pedagogue. Therefore, his method is original and new"(9).

Thanks to his recommendations, Kingma got permission of the Utrecht local government to establish his school in the city. Within three years, he worked at three different adresses and educated a limited number of retarded children. His school remained very small, notwithstanding his great strain in expanding his activities. For example, he would put advertisements in the local newspapers. Therefore he asked the Local School Committee to praise his school and his method. The positive opinions of the Committe could be mentioned in his advertisement, so Kingma argued. Unfortunately for him, the Committee answered negative(10). More positive were his contacts with the Medical Local Committee. So, he was invited to give a lecture. In these years, education of the retarded children was a problem for headmasters as well as for surgeons. So, the Utrecht surgeons were interested in Kingma's activities(11). For the rest, their interest in the problem was limited. The Utrecht local government wanted to know, in the light of the activities of Kingma, which number of potential retarded children was present in the town. Originally, the question was posed by some civilians. The surgeons were asked to do some research on this problem, but they refused to do such a thing(12).

Kingma worked very enthusiastically, but the School Committee doubted whether the results were really positive(13). His method was

regarded as rather rigid. In the letter of Kingma's collegue, we noted of this method already. In his lecture before the Utrecht surgeons, Kingma presented similar opinions(14). Kingma's lack of self-criticism perhaps caused problems in realizing his ideas. At first, the School Committee gave him the benefit of the doubt. Then, a subcommittee was installed to do research. The conlusions of this subcommittee were very negative indeed. Perhaps, some children derived benefit from Kingma's activities. Concrete results, however, were only possible after many years. Besides, the committee's opinion was that Kingma's method was usable individualistically only. That was not possible within the schoolclass and without Kingma himself(13). Without the local support he needed so much, Kingma had to end his Utrecht experiment within some years.

We can draw the following conclusions from this experiment. First, the Local School Committee was totally convinced of the idea that children between six and twelve years had to attend school, notwithstanding the absence of formal compulsory education. Secondly, the Local School Committee was convinced of the necessity of supplementary education of the 'retarded' children. Thirdly, the surgeons were interested in the problem, but didn't form, in the periode of the experiment, a influential group. Fourthly, Kingma's method was originally developed for very young children instead of 'retarded' children. Finally, Pestalozzi's reading-method inspired Kingma, as was the case with many other dutch headmasters. Prinsen, the director of the Education College in Haarlem, was most important in this development.

4. EDUCATING THE 'RETARDED' IN THE LIGHT OF FORMAL COMPULSORY EDUCATION: 1890-1920

Special schools for 'retarded' children like Kingma's experiment were an exception until the nineties. Then, in the period of the coming law on compulsory education, special education took his place in dutch education system. This development led to the official recognition of special education in 1920(16). In the years before, however, many schools were already established. We can see this on the following figures, made by the surgeon Dr.A. van Voorthuysen, the first dutch inspector of special education, appointed in 1920(17).

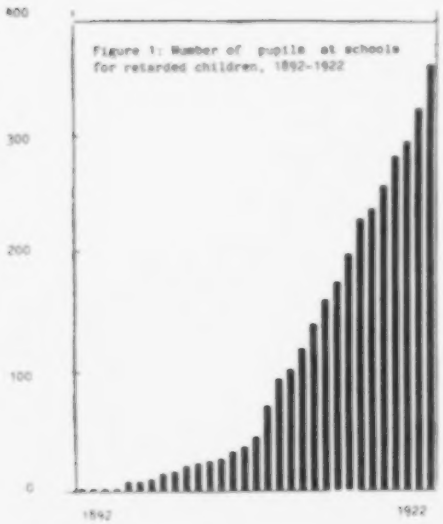

Figure 1: Number of pupils at schools for retarded children, 1892-1922

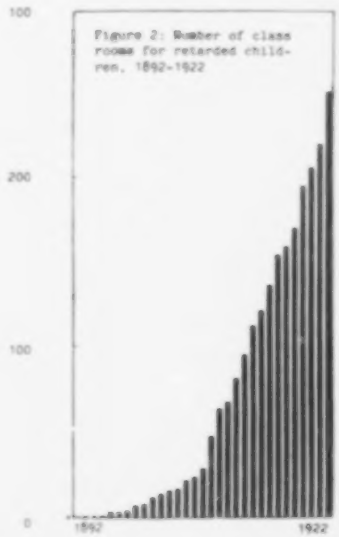

Figure 2: Number of class rooms for retarded children, 1892-1922

This period of great expansion was dominated by the co-operation as well as the tensions between surgeons and headmaster, or, in academic terms, between the pedagogical and psychological disciplines on the one hand, and the medical sciences on the other hand. Surgeons were highly interested in the problem, much different from the days of Kingma. On the other hand, pedagogues like Jan Klootsema, K.Andriesse and A.J.Schreuder, tried to formulate a pedagogical pathology with nomenclature, totally derived from the medical sciences(18). The most important periodical on special education, the 'Tijdschrift voor buitengewoon onderwijs', was the result of co-operation of schoolmasters and surgeons. Dr.A.van Voorthuysen, Dr.D.Helderscheè and many others were leading surgeons in the world of special education. In most cases, they worked as schooldoctors, and therefore co-operation with schoolmasters was a matter of course. In fact, educational problems became medical problems, and vice versa.

How we can explain this expansion of special education in the years 1890-1920? First, the great majority of school-children attended school already before 1901. The children left over, including the retarded, had to go too in these years. These children became 'retarded', compared with 'normal' school-children. The advance of these 'normal' children was dominant of two kinds. First, backwardness was measured in relation to this advance. Secondly, 'retarded' children constituted a danger to the advance of 'normal' children. Local politicians in Rotterdam, and even inspector Van Voorthuysen himself, were frankly about this(19). A second factor consisted in the existence of religious pressure groups. In the rise to power, Roman Catholics and Protestants were highly interested in the possibilities of a special education system. The same

development took place as with the residential re-education institutions(20). Finally, we can mention the development of the pedagogical pathology, and more general the growing interst of surgeons in these educational problems. Therefore, the 'retarded' children were more and more regarded as abnormal, concerning their intellectual as well as their fysical conditions. The country needed institions for these children too, just like institions were established for the morally deprived and criminal children.

5. NORMAL, NON-NORMAL AND THE 'TWO NATIONS'

"Two nations; between whom there is no intercourse and no sympathy; who are as ignorant of each other's habits, thoughts, and feelings, as if they were dwellers in diferent zones, or inhabitants of different planets; who are formed by different breeding, are fed by different food, are ordened by different manners, and are not governed by the same laws". When Benjamin Disraeli wrote this passage in his famous novel 'Sybil, or, the two nations', edited in 1845(21), he had in view the rich and the poor, whose relation was extremely precarious in this time of crisis. Can we make use, in the history of education too, of the concept of the two nations for the nineteenth century? We have, of coure, in view the nations of 'normal' and 'non-normal' children. We can see this bipartition of the child world in the history of residential institutions, in the attendance at school, in the establishment of institutions for 'retarded' children, etc. The concept of the normal child as school-going, non-deprived and non-criminal, was accepted generally since the beginnings of the nineteenth century. Following this concept, eventually two separate pedagogical systems were developed,

each for one category. An important historical question rises, i.e. whether the conept of the two nations, regarded as a social and economic concept, concerning the rich and the poor, is at the same time the concept of 'normal' and 'non-normal'.

In the case of the residential approach concerning the criminal and deprived children, a positive answer was already given in the days of Disraeli , e.g. by Mary Carpenter(22). Research into the files of two thousand 'deprived' children has corroborated these conclusions(23). In the midst of these children, we could already observe many 'retarded' children, especially since the nineties. Can we, however, draw the same conclusion about all retarded children, including these outside the residential institutions? In The Netherlands, the gap between the rich and the poor in the second half of the nineteenth century was not so dramatically deep as in Great Britain in the first half of the nineteenth century. One of the main representatives of the new movement of 'pedagogical pathology', Jan Klootsema, was of the opinion that retardation was present in all families, those of the rich and those of the poor(24).

More serial socio-historical research is needed to give an answer to this question. For the time being, I should defend a hypothesis set against the opinion of Klootsema.

6. CONCLUSIONS

Thanks to the existence of informal compulsory education -and therefore of the concept and reality of the normal child as school-going- in The Netherlands, the first experiments of supplementary education of retarded children were developed, e.g. the school of Kingma in Utrecht.

These early experiments didn't result in a system of education. In the nineties, however, this became possible indeed, because of the coming law for compulsory education. In the preceding decades, priority was given to the residential experiments for the re-education of criminal and deprived children. Why? In mine opinion, the social and moral danger of these groups was regarded as much greater by the élite. At the end of the nineteenth century, an important part of the population in the re-education houses was retarded indeed. In general, retardation was regarded a great social and economic problem now, in relation to the modernization and growth of the national economy, and the anxiety about the condition of 'manpower' as an economic factor.

NOTES

1) See Jan Klootsema, Misdeelde kinderen. Inleiding tot de paedagogische pathologie en therapie, Groningen 1904, pp.41-42; A.J.Schreuder, Achterlijke kinderen. In: Zernike, C.F.A., Paedagogisch Woordenboek, Groningen 1905, p.35.

2) Benjamin Disraeli, Sybil; or, The Two Nations, London 1845.

3) Michel Foucault, Surveiller et punir. Naissance de la prison, Paris 1975.

4) I have in view political parties of Orthodox Protestants and Roman Catholics. Other issues, important in the history of the dutch political system, were the 'social' problem and the discussion around the lowering of the census.

5) See Hans Knippenberg, Deelname aan het lager onderwijs in Nederland gedurende de negentiende eeuw, Amsterdam 1986, with attention to regional differences. Cf. L.Dasberg and J.W.G.Jansing, Meer kennis meer

kans. Het Nederlandse onderwijs 1843-1914, Haarlem 1978.

6) Utrecht Municipal Archives, 5.Town Archives V (1851-1910), 966**, Minutes of the Local School Committee (including incoming post), LSC, reports on 1857-1861.

7) See Jeroen J.H.Dekker, Straffen, redden en opvoeden. Het ontstaan en de ontwikkeling van de residentiële heropvoeding in West-Europa, 1814-1914, met bijzondere aandacht voor 'Nederlandsch Mettray', Van Gorcum, Assen 1985.

8) L.W.van Loon, Fokke Yntes Kingma. In: Tijdschrift voor Buitengewoon Onderwijs (8) no.8, 1927, pp. 165-179.

9) 'Beoordeling van de Proeve van Leerwijze om kinderen het lezen en schrijven gelijktijdig te leren, op last van Z.Exc. den Min.Van Binnenl.zaken, naar aanleiding van een adres aan Z.H.den Koning', written on 11 october 1858 by H.Hemkes. He wrote this letter to the School Inspector of South-Holland (copy send by Kingma himself on 10 december 1858), LSC 1858.

10) Letters of Kingma, dated 2 november 1859; negative answer of the Local School Committee at the same date, at the 25th. meeting, LSC 1859.

11) See Dr.A.J.van der Weyde, De school van Kingma. In: Tijdschrift voor Buitengewoon Onderwijs (5), no.1, 1924, pp.9-10.

12) See Dr.A.J.van der Weyde, Nog iets over het onderwijs aan achterlijke kinderen in Utrecht omstreeks 1860. In: Tijdschrift voor Buitengewoon Onderwijs (6), no.1, 1925, pp.15-17. The civilians, belonging to the local élite, were: W.J.Royaards van den Ham, C.W.Moorrees, J.W.Gunning, C.Th. van Lijnden van Sandenburg, P.de Beaufort en J.P.Th.van der Lith. Striking, the Local School Committee was not informed.

13) Report of a sub-committee of the Local School Committee, dated January 1860, LSC 1860.

14) Delivered at 8 september 1860. See Van der Weyde 1924 (op.cit.), p.9.

15) See minutes of the 48th. meeting of the Local School Committee, 6 november 1861. Concrete results were negative, and scientifically Kingma's method had to be rejected, LSC 1861.

16) See A.J.Schreuder, De wettelike regeling van het buitengewoon onderwijs, Baarn 1919. Cf. Olie en wijn. Gedenkschrift van de Vereeniging tot opvoeding en verpleging van idioten en achterlijke kinderen, 1891-3 maart- 1931, Kampen 1931.

17) Figures from Dr.A.van Voorthuysen, De ontwikkeling van het speciale onderwijs aan Zwakzinnigen in Nederland. In: Tijdschrift voor Buitengewoon Onderwijs (4), no.7, 1923, pp.113-119. There was some criticism about the appointment of the surgeon Van Voorthuysen instead of a pedagogue. See Tijdschrift voor Buitengewoon Onderwijs (1), no.9, 1920, pp.129-130.

18) Cf. Klootsema (op. cit.), Schreuder 1905 (op.cit.), K.Andriesse, Kindergebreken. In: Zernike, C.F.A., Paedagogisch Woordenboek, Groningen 1905, pp.597-612.

19) See Van Voorthuysen 1923 (op.cit.), p.119. For Rotterdam, see C.A.Laponder, Anders - zijn en toch mee - willen doen (1896-1913), doctoraalscriptie, Utrecht 1982.

20) Cf.Dekker (op.cit.).

21) Disraeli (op.cit.), p.96 (edition used: Penguin English Library, Harmondsworth 1980).

22) Mary Carpenter, Reformatory Schools for the Children of the Perishing and Dangerous Classes, and for Juvenile Offenders, London 1851.

23) Cf.Dekker (op.cit.), ch.IV and V.

24) Klootsema (op.cit.), p.78.

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IL VERO GIUOCO DELLA BARCA.

DICHIARAZIONE SOPRA IL GIUOCO DELLA BARCA

Al Giuoco della *Barca* si pigliano due Dadi, poi si fa chi prima debba tirare e di poi s'incomincia.

I. Chi fa 3 4 5 6 8 9 10 11 mette sopra i detti numeri una moneta, e se nei suddetti numeri vi è qualche moneta si leva.

II. Chi fa 7 mette sempre una moneta nella *Barca*.

III. Chi fa 2 leva tutte le monete che si trovano sopra i numeri all'intorno.

IV. Chi fa 12 leva tutte le monete che si trovano sopra i numeri, ed anche quelli che si trovano nella *Barca*.

THE PROBLEM OF COMPULSORY SCHOOLING AND UNIVERSAL ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN THE KINGDOM OF POLAND IN THE SECOND HALF OF 19TH CENTURY AD THE BEGINNING OF THE 20TH CENTURY

Julian Dybiec

The compulsory school education introduced in the 19th century was an undoubtful progress of civilization. Schools being universally open to all children put culture and science within the reach of all social classes. It enabled them to take active part in the developement of universal human values. It led to banning of barrieres which had existed between particular classes. It created a possibility of equal chances of moral,scientific and economic developement. Such process a normal one in free societies where universal education was an objective in itself and not a means to realize political aims.

The picture of compulsory education on Polish territories was quite different from that in West European societies which posessed their own statehoods. Generally the compulsory education or universal elementary schools were to serve the political aims of the invaders. Polish people, except those under Austrian rule, had no influence upon education, they could not form it according to their needs, aspirations or tradition. Such situation led to the developement of various different social attitudes towards official schools. It also caused actions which were meant to support or suppress the consequences of compulsory education of the universal state schools.

The situation was most dramatic on the territory annexed by Russia, in so called Kingdom of Poland. There the elementary education became a subject of clearly outlined trends, social and political, Russian and Polish. We will deal only with problems of elementary education in Russian Poland due to their importance and complex character.

The fall of January uprising in 1864 constituted a crucial moment in the history of elementary education. The outbreak of the uprising and then its ruthless suppression by Russians caused vital change in tsar's policy towards Polish people. It could be generally said that up to 1863 Russian authorities had founded their rule on upper classes. The 1830 uprising weakened the confidence of the authorities in Polish nobility. The next uprising of which Polish nobility constituted main force, ruined completely tsar's calculations for winning that social class over. Since then the Russians turned their interest towards peasantry, which up till then were a class of no great national awareness. The Napoleon constitution of 1807 abolished serfdom and gave peasants personal freedom but it did not gave them land on which they worked. It caused the maintainance of bond labour on the farm of a landowner. The 1863 rebel government trying to attract peasants for the fight with Russia, announced enfranchisement - gave them the land. Unfortunately that resolution was not realised as the uprising soon feel. The enfranchisement was carried out by Russian government. The skillfully spread propaganda pictured Russian as benefactors and protectors of Polish peasants. The elementary education was to play an important part in those plans of winning over the peasants / 1-5/. The task of an elementary school was to form new attitudes in Polish society and particularly in peasants.

After the fall of January uprising, the elementary education became an object of interest for Polish intelligentsia. Positivism, spreading in the sixties and seventies of the 19th century in the Kingdom of Poland, was not as much a philosophical or scientifical trend as a social ideology. Polish positivists formulated two basic rules for social activity: the idea of organic work and work at the foundations. The organic work meant the developement of the whole social system, the necessity of improvement in industry, trade, and material and spiritual culture. The work at the foundations meant taking care of working classes as they were the foundation of the nation / 6 /.

It meant the developement of education, spreading of knowledge and improving of morality / 7 /. The positivists encouraged upper classes, the Catholic Church and intelligentsia to work upon the working class. The positivists, being realists and loyalists were convinced that the state would found schools giving them appropriate funds and in that way it would carry on the alphabetization of working classes. That was the reason why they advised people to attend elementary country schools, they pointed to the advantages which those schools might bring to the people. According to the tsar's edict those who finished elementary school were liable to four year military service whereas those who did not attend the school were sent to the army for six years. It appeared soon that the positivists judged the state and the school wrongly. The occupational authorities had quite different conception of education. The Russian government was keen on suppression of Polish democratic traditions which favoured independence. They wanted the Poles completely subordinated to authorities and closely united with "great Russian nation". They tried to breed aversion and repugnance to everything Polish and create admiration for everything Russians did. The close unification with Russia which they had tried to achieve by force up till then was to be gained in peaceful way. In 1898, Aleksander Imeretyński, the governor general of Warsaw, wrote: "If, like before, we would regard Poland as a country permeated with Polish and revolutionary ideas which could be and should be suppressed by external force of different repressive laws existing at present, then distrust and prejudice of Polish people against Russian government will not vanish but on the contrary it will spread"/ 8/27 /.

To fulfill the assigned role the school was to reject formally all political aims. Teaching only was to be its final task. The principle of national and religious equality was accepted. Since 1864 separate schools for Polish, Lithuanians, Russians, Jews and Germans were formed. The authorities, expecting to win peasants over, ensured them influence on founding schools and engaging teachers. At the same time, towns, great

agglomerations of people, were deprived of any say where the elementary schools were concerned, as the towns like Warsaw were at first centres of national and later revolutionary movements. Since the most important thing was to attract peasants and make them tsar's implicit subjects, the authorities tried to realize the principle of a universal schooling in the countryside. Simultaneously there existed extreme liberty in attending schools in towns. The educational principles and economical rights in Russian policy were out of accord. The ideological reasons obliged to introduce compulsory education, central school policy. The economical reasons, the perpetual lack of money for education, made it necessary to give up the idea of compulsory education and to burden people, instead of state treasury, with school expenses. The lack of funds compelled deliberate tolerance of illiteracy. At the same time, Polish were not allowed to found their own schools. So what was then the problem of school in that complex situation and was the attitude of Polish society towards it ?

Despite earlier decrees of 1864 there were introduced Polish handbooks written in Russian alphabet into elementary schools as early as the end of the sixties. Soon teaching of Russian was introduced into schools against the will of parents. Since 1872 it became an obligatory subject. A couple of years later schools separate for each religion were replaced by a uniform models of country and town schools. In 1885 Russian became the official language in all elementary schools. Only Polish and religion could be taught either in Polish or in Russian depending on the will of parents. Those regulations repelled young Polish people to elementary school. The Russian governor general, Josif Hurko, made such an assessment of contemporary system of education: "In the official school in the Kingdom of Poland, a Polish child is not treated kindly but with hostility; a child is blamed for his Polish origin, they offend his national feelings, despise his religion, and his mother tongue is placed after foreign ones - French and German. Coming back home the child relates to his parents, who were not friendly dispo-

sed towards Russian nation, the insults it met with at school, tells of favouring Russian children as the authorities demanded of Polish children better knowledge of Russian language and its grammatical rules than from Russian ones. Such heartless treatment of a child, it is understandable, leads to something quite opposite to what the authorities expected. It did not make a child love Russia but on the contrary it made him hate everything Russian from his earliest years. To hate that what in his best period of life abused him with so many pointless insults, drew so many bitter tears from its eyes " /6/47 /.

Parents attitude towards state school reflected that of their children. If soon after the 1863 uprising peasants in many villages started to found schools and send their children there, then in the eighties the attitude changed. The hostility towards school found expression in protests when village schools were renamed as communal schools and removed from the control of peasants. People often refused to pay for schools so that the authorities were forced to use army sometimes. The villagers also passed resolutions to close schools though the authorities exacted fees even when the schools did not exist. In order to multiply state schools, the authorities had to cover part of the expenses. Schools in eastern provinces of the Kingdom enjoyed special support as they were thought to be more liable to Russification. Also, the authorities founded and supported Russian Orthodox Church elementary schools as they being subjected to the Church guaranted law-abiding education.

Teaching of some subjects and teachers themselves were, besides Russian language foreign for a Polish child, the cause of aversion to state schools. Among curiorities must be placed an order of the authorities making teachers read out a booklet about activities of the Empress Catharine II each day before lessons / 9/122 /.

Teachers of the elementary schools were mainly recruited from peasants according to the recommendation of the authorities as coming from circles of very small national awarness they were considered most suitable to be properly formed in

teachers schools. Those schools were situated in small towns and isolated from any outer influences. Tutors were brought from central Russia. In that way future loyal and obedient executors of tsar s school policy were trained. To strengthen the influence of teachers upon school children, libraries with Russian books were organized, Russian periodicals brought.

The conditions in which children were taught were not favourable. The raports showed that schools had noproper classrooms. The rooms were often damp, without ventillation or appropriate illumination with leaking roofs.

Russian anti-educational policy and aversion to state schools were the cause of widespread illiteracy in the Kingdom of Poland. The 1897 census showed that only 2.868.570 innabitants out of 9.402.253 could read and write / 9/32 /. Almost 70% of people were illiterate.

The situation was the worst in the big cities. There the communities were almost completely deprived of any influence upon the administration of the cities. The municipal authorities were limited in their activity to keeping order. The city councils had either no right, or qualified employees to take care of schools. The effects of such situation were disastrous, Warsaw being an example. In 1876 there were 102 elementary schools for the population of 300.000. The 1882 census showed that only 173.532 out of 387.395 innabitants attended elementary, secondary or high school / 10/11 /. The 1897 census revealed that there were 318.194 illiterates in Warsaw. Out of that number 41,7% were men and 51,3% women / 10/39 /. The percentage of illiterates was greater in Warsaw than in Petersburg or Moscow. It was even worse in Łódź and other Polish cities / 11/124 /. That was why a Polish lawyer, Adolf Sulimowski, called Warsaw a city of illiterates. He pointed that in 1897 only 24 copecks per person were allocated to education in Warsaw, whereas there were 70 copecks in Moscow and Petersburg, 8 roubles 50 copecks in Paris, 7,37 roubles in Copenhagen, 4,50 roubles in Berlin, and 2 roubles in Cracow in 1901 / 10/33 /. Each year the authorities announced closing of inscription

lists to schools depriving many children of any possibility of education. It often happened that applications for admission to school were written to tsar himself.

The Russian authorities were fully aware of the situation in school system in big cities. In spite of that they were very indolent as concerned school building. The same happened with the idea of compulsory school education. It was already 1909 when they started preparations to introduce compulsory education on elementary level which was to be realized by 1924 / 9/37 /.

The Polish community had to oppose their own actions to lack of compulsory education, and the anti-national character of state schools. The action was started by legal institutions such as Warsaw Charity Society existing since 19th century which ran day-nurseries for children from 3 to 7 years old and took up school education. They admitted sometimes older children but numerous inspections made by tsar's authorities in 1882 and 1885 resulted in banning teaching there. In 1892 the Ministry of the Interior ordered to "put the board of the Society under obligation to restore the nurseries to proper order which meant that children over 7 would not be admitted and other children would not be taught to read and write, even using books and note-books was forbidden" / 10/50 /. In consequence 1.500 children over seven were to be removed and deprived, in that way, of possibility to reading and writing in their mother tongue. Later inspections carried out together with the police in the following years resulted in dismissal of a Polishman from the post of a chairman of the Warsaw Charity Society.

Indepeniently from the Society there were formed secret elementary schools. Teachers, there, were retired teachers, soldiers on leave, pupils and students. Teaching was held in houses of peasants, townspeople and nobility. In the seventies and eighties, secret teaching took on a character of mass action. There were secret schools in every quater of Warsaw / 12/26 /. The program comprised: religion, Polish language, and history, geography, natural sciences, arithmetics, Russian

language, and literature. The idea of secret schools was developed and realized by people from intelligentsia circles. Konrad Prószyński, F.Płaskownicka, J.Dziubińska, F.Korzycka, M. Brzeziński and C.Śniegocka were those most meritorious in developing that teaching. The movement was supported and organized by an illegal Circle for People's Education. Germans and Jews also joined the action. Education in illegal schools was paid as there were teachers employed whose only income was money earned in those schools. The growth of secret teaching made Russian authorities to issue regulations which thretened anyone connected with secret teaching with severe punishment. The punishment was either 300 roubles fine or arrest according to tsar's decree in 1900 / 10/ 54,57 /. It was really a severe punishment as we must remember that in 1900 average teacher's salary was 50 to 300 roubles a year. Teachers from state schools started to work in secret schools. It was the result of the action which was carried out among them in order to make them more aware of the nationality problem.

The developement of secret teaching would not be possible if the society did not organize publishing system, which provided schools with necessary books. One of the most important among those publications was "Elementary Book with Which You Can Learn to Red in 5 or 8 Weeks" by Konrad Prószyński /1875/. The methods presented in that book made it possible to master reading and writing quickly. The Elementary Book in years 1875-1908 had 49 editions / 13/164 /. To develop the mastered ability of reading Prószyński published in 1876 "First Book for Practice in Reading" and later "True Stories, That is the Second Book For Reading". Next he edited other publications which were to stimulate interest for reading among those who had learnt to read. He was also the editor of "Holiday Gazette" for working classes which aimed at popularizing self-education. The paper, serving the idea of universal education, met with difficulties on the part of authorities.

Prószyński started to publish popular books and his work was continued by many of his successors. On the turn of the

19th century there occured a period of intense activity of almost whole generation of intelligentsia who prepared popular editions for wide circulation among beginning readers. They were among others specially prepared shortened editions of works of famous West European and Polish writers. There were also books popularizing geography, natural sciences, medicine, history and other branches of science. If at the end of the sixties those publications were not numerous, at the end of the Russian rule in the Kingdom of Poland there were at least tens of them with editions up to several thousands. In that way, at least, Polish activity was able to reduce the negative role of state school and replace what in other countries was provided by compulsory education.

Private schools also played certain part in those activities. Tsar's authorities were very reluctant in giving permissions for opening a private elementary school. The political attitudes of those applying for the permission were closely examined. The obligation to pass a qualifying examination which checked, first of all, knowledge of Russian was another of the obstacles. The number of private schools was very unstable. In 1867 there were 200 private elementary schools in the Kingdom, in 1904 - 484, and in 1912 - 939 / 9/163-179 /.

The Catholic Church played an important role in the period of Russification of the education. The Church enjoyed enormous moral authority in Polish society. In the country the influence was the strongest. The Church was the only institution where Polish language was used throughout the occupation. The prayer books were very often the only" elementary books" in mother tongue for many of peasants. They were used to teach reading, they introduced peasants into the world of a printed word, into the world of books.

The 1905 revolution, which came onto the territory of Poland from central Russia, brought to light not only unsolved social problems but also the educational ones. In the time when almost no one in Europe questioned the necessity of elementary schooling and compulsory education, Polish society turned against

schools. The struggle against Russian official state school started. The so called school revolution broke out in the Kingdom, the secondary and some of the elementary schools were under mass boycott. A national elementary school was universally demanded. The 1905 revolution activated the work of Polish on elementary education. Tsar s authorities under the pressure of revolutionary upheaval permitted a legal organization "Polish School Society" to be formed. The society started to found private Polish elementary schools. When the revolution had fallen the organization continued its activity illegally. Illegal were also some other organizations such as Courses for Illiterate Adults and the Society for the Developement of Education "Light". The latest research shows that from 1865 to 1914 there were about 3.155 illegal schools. Not all of them were allowed to function long, some 1.044 of them were discovered and closed by the police / 9/158 /.

The 1905 year revealed the bankruptcy of Russian educational policy in the Kingdom of Poland. The school, opposite to the intensions of the authorities, found itself in the sphere of influence of the revolutionary movement. Teachers who had been carefully chosen by authorities from classes which seemed to have no national awarness and who had been specially trained and indoctrinated, gave their support to national educational aspirations. In 1905 the teachers of state schools started to teach in Polish. It appeared, as well, that the hope of tsar's authorities to win over peasants through enfranchisement reform and schools was completely ruined. The state school was one of the elements of Russian policy which from the beginning set wide circles of Polish society against Russia. It was one of the reasons why during the Polish-Soviet war in 1920 and 1921 the progress of socialistic revolution to Western Europe was stopped at the outskirts of Warsaw.

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RESUME

La défaite de l'insurrection de janvier dans le Royaume de Pologne ouvrit une nouvelle periode dans l'histoire de l'enseignement élémentaire.

L'ecole élémentaire devint un instrument politique, très important, entre les mains du pouvoir russe. A l'aide de l'éducation publique les autorités eurent l'intention de capter les paysans qui, jusque là étaient restés neutres du point de vue national. Dans ce but le gouvernement entreprit l'action de créer dans les villages des écoles d'enseignement général et public. Il aurait dû en resulter que les villes, surtout les grandes, comme par exemple Varsovie, en tant que centre du mouvement national et puis révolutionnaire, furent condamnées à analphabetisme. L'idéologie du positivisme, se développant après 1864 dans le Royaume de Pologne, fut favorable, tout d'abord, à l'action gouvernementale d'alphabétisation des paysans. Mais au moment de la russification de l'école, la société polonaise dut se mettre à organiser sa propre éducation élémentaire. Celle-ci consiste è créer des écoles clandestines, et à imprimer des éditions, grâce auxquelles on put continuer l'action de l'alphabétisation légale. Le résultat d'un long trevail clandestin fut tel qu'on réussit à diminuer l'alphabétisme dans le Royaume de Pologne, et neutraliser le rôle politique de l'école gouvernamantale russe.

WORKING GROUP

3

SCHOOL BUILDINGS, PROGRAMS AND METHODS AFTER THE INTRODUCTION OF COMPULSORY EDUCATION

Problema difficile. A. Morardet dipinse. Galleria moderna, Firenze.

SCHOOL BUILDINGS, PROGRAMMES AND METHODS AFTER THE INTRODUCTION OF COMPULSORY EDUCATION IN FINLAND (1921-1939)

Martii T. Kuikka

1. Introduction

When the Compulsory Education Act was issued in 1921, the primary school had existed in Finland for over 50 years. The first Primary School Act was passed in 1866. Three years earlier the first teacher-training seminar for primary school teachers was founded. The Compulsory Education Act in no way changed the prevailing school practice, but rather allowed for previous school forms to continue. There were three forms: (1) Most pupils went either to a municipal or a provate primary school. (2) The church elementary school had been in existence since the 1880's. (3) The so-called preparatory schools, which were private schools in town, prepared pupils for secondary school.

After the Compulsory School Act the number of pupils increased continvously in municipal schools. The church elementary schools existed until the middle of the 1930's. The number of pupils in preparatory schools remained stable, at about 1000.[1]

The Compulsory School Act gave the towns five years and the rural communities 15 years to realize compulsory education.[2] This was a very heavy task for the local councils: school costs increased enormous in the 1920's. For example during the years 1920-21 the school costs increased in towns by 12 million Finnish marks or by 60 percent. State grants did not cover the increases.[3]

In this article I describe the development of compulsory education in the 1920's and 1930's, and paid attention to the curriculum, the teaching methods and the school buildings.

2. The curriculum of the compulsory school

2.1. Municipal curriculum

The Finnish primary school, since its founding, has had its own independent curriculum. The state did not issue a general curriculum, but rather according to the Act of 1866, the council of every school could decide on the content of the curriculum.[4] It was a school policy typical of the liberalism of the 1860's. In 1881 the first recommendations for courses were formulated requiring different subjects in the primary schools. They were not normative. In other words the teachers usually selected the same subjects that existed in the training school of the Teacher Training College.[5]

The same principle is seen in the form of government taken by indepe dent Finland in the year 1919. According to this form of government, the communities had much self-government. The position of the primary school as a local school was strengthened by the legislation on education in the 1920's. The municipal councils provided the guidelines for the boards, though at the same time they also acted as state functionari s, for example in the selection of teachers.[6]

2.2. Proposal for a new curriculum in 1925

Even before the Compulsory Education Act a plan for a new curriculum had begun. The curriculum committee had worked between 1912-15, but the planning was interrupted. The committee began again in 1918 and finished the proposal in 1925.[7] The form of government in 1919 presupposed the development of an elementary school. The founding of specific experimental schools was proposed to the School Board. Some experimental schools were founded, and the results of this affected the proposal of the committee.[8]

The proposal fora new curriculum had many different pedagogical elements.[9] The curriculum was based on research in child psychology and on Pestalozzi's and Frobel's pedagogical thinking. It was particularly clear in the curriculum for beginning teaching. The aims were not defined exactly in the curriculum

proposal. The aims of teaching was to inspirate interest in the pupils and to develop the growing powers of the mind. Both Pestalozzi's and Herbart's pedagogy are apparent in this aim. The development of the growing powers of the mind became a part of the pedagogical principles of so-called New School.[10] The educational aims of the primary school were very broadly defined in the Act of 1923. According to this Act the primary school aimed to educate pupils in morals and good manners and to provide the necessary knowledge and skills for life.[11]

The lack of aims of the curriculum reform of 1925 was criticized even in its own time. The representatives of social pedagogy and so-called work school pedagogy, criticized it as not providing an education for society and a good citizen. Another criticism was that a primary school should develop in to a Finnish national school in which patriotism and religious concepts are important ideas. Later Finnish studies have pondered over the absence of these aims. However it must be pointed out that the task of the curriculum committee of 1925 was only to make proposal. Its openness reveals the freedom to realize Finnish values. It was a distinction of the young independent state, which stressed national values for the education of new generations. Religion had a central position in education.[12]

2.3. The subjects

The new compulsory school contained same subjects as were found earlier in the primary school. The list of subjects is in Appendix 1. The teaching of religion was congregational, every pupil was taught according to his church affiliation. The pupils who were exempt from religious teaching had to study ethics and the history of religions. Uno Cygnaeus, "Father of the Finnish primary school", had emphasized the importance of understanding reading instead of merely reciting from memory. Teaching in the mother-tongue aimed at developing both literary ability and skills in making oral presentation. Calligraphy aimed at developing a good handwriting. Mathematics and geometry were made part of the world experienced by pupils. In the teaching of the natural

sciences the functions of nature were analyzed more than its structure. A knowledge of the neighborhood environment was included as part of geograpny. Its aim was to familiarize the pupils with their own environment. History was the most important school subject. Naturally one of its main points was to teach the history of Finland. Its aim was to instill a sense of patriotism and the will to defend their country. [13]

The meaning of practical subjects increased in the 1920's when individualism was the basis of school education. Art became a part of the experience world of pupils. The teaching of music was reformed according to the National song tradition. Sport was the most popular subject in the compulsory school. This was the result of great success of Finnish sportsmen in the Olympic Games in Paris in 1920 and in Antverp in 1924. Later on hygiene and sex-education were added to sport. Handicrafts, through the growth of industrialism, experienced a new"rennaisance" with the pedagogy of industrial schools and its activity. Both girls and boys were taugat home economics.[14]

There were no new subjects added to the compulsory school in the 1920's and 1930's. However one example was the teaching of farming and gardening. It came about due to the agrarian politics which stressed a self-supporting farming. There was a desire among the agrarian population to get in the compulsory school some subjects that were related to a field of activity found on the countryside. Although no new subjects were introduced in the school, some important education aims were stressed in teaching. Temperance education aimed at fresh life habits. Thrift teaching aimed at economical thinking. There was an attempt to familiarize pupils with the culture of kindred people, especially of Hungary and Estonia. The legations of both countries helped the teachers in this task. The Swedish - language primary school teachers strengthened cultural relationships with the other Nordic countries. Defense education became a part of the school education of the independent country, though this idea was discussed actively. In the 1930's so-called traffic weeks began to be organized. The aim was to become familiar with traffic security.[15]

What languages were taught in compulsory schools? In Finland many alternatives were discussed. Finland is a bilingual country. There fore after the mother-tongue the second native language should be taught. Advocates of the idea of cultural heritage preferred Estonian or Hungarian. Besides German English was often chosen. Some teachers proposed the teaching of Esperanto. In practice many proposals were not realized. In the upper classes of compulsory school the pupils could voluntarily select the second native language (Finnish or Swedish). The study of other language depended on the teacher. However, language teaching was more a task of the secondary school than of the compulsory school.[16]

3. The teaching methods

In the 1860's the teaching methods were based on Uno Cygnaeus'pedagogical thinking which had been influenced by German and Swiss pedagogy. In the 1880's Z.J. Cleve's didactics was based on Hegel's philosophy. Herbart's pedagogy came to Finland in the 1890's. It emphasized the development of the ethical nature of the pupil but the curriculum was subject-centred based. The pedagogy of the so-called New School came at the beginning of this century. It emphasized pupil-centred methods and using the pupil's own strengths in education. This New School included both social-pedagogical, and individual trends. The first influence came from the German pedagogy of industrial schools. The influence of this movement was apparent in that child psychology was paid more attention to in planning the curriculum. Criticism of Herbart's didactics had begun. The following schema shows the main points of development.[17]

1900 ——— 1910 ——— 1920 ——— 1930 ——— 1940

teacher centred:	pupil centred:	Käis(Estonia)
-presentation	-group work	-individualization
-questioning	-individual work	-co-operation
-common practice	-class discussion	

Herbart's pedagogy

New school didactics

In the compulsory school in the 1920's both old and new methods were used. Old methods, based on Herbart's didactics, began to disappear. New influences came from Estonia, Germany and the Anglo-Saxan countries. The curriculum committee of 1925 proposed the following principles for selecting teaching methods: 1) clearness 2) self-activation 3) concentrate on memory in learning.[18]

There was close co-operation with our neighbouring country Estonia in the 1930's. J.Käis, in particular had an influence on the application of individual methods in teaching. In regard to the pedagogy of activation principles of individual activity and co-operation began to be stressed in the 1930's. New social pedagogical ideas came to Finland especially in the 1930's from Germany. The pedagogy of the industrial school had many forms and pedagogical applications. One of them was the use of workbooks,produced by the pupil in geography, the natural sciences and history. Besides providing the pupil with his own textbooks this encouraged the development of the individuality of the pupils.[19]

The teaching methods gradually became pupil-centred. New teaching equipment was developed for the compulsory school. Libraries for the pupils were enlarged. School Radio production began in the 1930's to assist in teaching. Other technical developments evolved with the use of slides and educational films.[20]

4. School Buildings

A direct result on the Compulsory Education Act was that the number of pupils increased quickly in the 1920's, as shown in table 3. In the school year 1920-21 the number was 269 189 and in 1938-39 495 867 . This increase required a very large building-programme.[21]

Most Early school buildings belonged to one of three style-traditions namely the Gothic style, the Swiss style or the so-called Rustic style. With the planning of new buildings in the 1920's the architects began to look for lines that were more

in the Finnish building tradition. It was not so easy though the international Functional style was represented in Finland, Functionalism was very difficult to adapt to the Finnish landscape.[22]

Besides the building styles,other requirements were set for new school buildings. One of them was the development of social services for pupils. On the countryside, where the school journey was long for pupils, bourding house were needed. In turn, they required working rooms. School kitchens were needed to provide food daily, large schools a dining room was necessary. The development of teaching included planning of special classes for natural sciences, sport and handicrafts. These developments plans were very extensive and all wishes could not be fulfilled. In 1921 a competition was organized to plan school buildings that would fulfill the actual needs.[23]

The number of school buildings increased rapidly in the 1920's. Every year 100-200 new schools were built. The communities received state grants for building, but had to raise taxes to cover school costs. At the same time the building of school helped employment in many regions. There was a clear difference between the situation in towns and on the countryside. For economic reasons, large schools had to be built in towns. On the countryside small schools with 2-3 classrooms were built. In the country schools there were residences with 1-3 rooms. The period of depression in the 1930's retarded the building programme, but it speeded up at the end of the 1930's. On the countryside in particular many new schools were built.[24]

New schools got new school equipment. Modern teaching methods, such as group-work, required easily movable equipment. School festivities needed flexible room solutions. They tried to make classrooms cosier. Esthetic values were not forgotten. Black boards became "green boards". Works of art were bought for the schools. The pictures were usually of nationally outstanding men,from the Presidents to famous writers.[25]

On the countryside the primary school pupils in the 1920's cleaned the classrooms and took care of the heating. The situation changed gradually, and caretakers came in to the schools and attented to these tasks.[26]

SUMMARY

When the Compulsory Education Act was issued in Finland 1921, the primary school had existed for over 50 years. Although the new law led to a great increase in school costs, the influence was positive. The number of pupils in primary schools multiplied. New school buildings were built in accordance with new pedagogical guidelines. Instead of teacher-centred methods, they began to apply pupil-centred teaching methods. New influences came from Estonia, middle Europe and the Anglo-Saxon countries, but the most important values in school teaching were the same as the values of the young independent State.

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19. Halila 1950,132-134. Lahdes 1961, 21-24,152-153.

20. Halila 1950, 145-149.

21. Suomen Tilastollinen vuosikirja (Helsinki 1941) s.218

22. Halila 1950,106-112.

23. ibidem

24. Suomen Tilastollinen vuosikirja 1940 (Helsinki 1941) See Appendix 1 table

25. Halila 1950,113-129.

Appendix 1

Table 1.Number of pupils attending primary school and church schools schools, 1920-1939

School year	primary school	church school
1920-21	269 189	170 557
1925-26	345 793	96 035
1930-31	422 709	41 761
1935-36	476 806	25 388
1938-39	495 867	

Table 2. The subjects of the proposal for a new curriculum 1925

Religion
History
Local studies and geography
Natural sciences
Mother tongue
Calligraphy
Mathematic and geometry
Art
Music
Sport
Handicraft

Table 3. Growth in the number of lower and upper primary schools on the countryside and in the towns,1921-39

School year	On the countryside		In the towns
	Lower primary school	Upper primary school	Primary school
1920-21	682	3773	1448
1925-26	2551	4548	1394
1930-31	4667	5217	1422
1935-36	5407	5502	1672
1938-39	5301	5765	1756

PRIMARY SCHOOL ARCHITECTURE AND THE RETREAT FROM OPEN-PLAN

Peter Cunningham

been deemed to require three main qualities: 'commodity, firmness and delight'.[1] 'Firmness', in its narrowest sense the stability of the structure, is an engineering consideration which requires no separate treatment as concerns school buildings, although engineering factors such as environmental control, the maintenance of warmth and light for example, will be seen to impinge on function and appearance.

'Commodity' comprises the functional requirements which are very specific in providing for the education of young children. They have indeed become increasingly specific as the profession and practice of both architecture and education have become more specialist. In 1834 the establishment of the Royal Institute of British Architects gave institutional expression to professionalism in the design of buildings, offering some control over training and qualifications. In the 1840s a recognised and authoritative system of teacher training began to evolve.[2] In 1847 one of the earliest English treatises specifically on school architecture was published, and in 1871 E.R.Robson was the first consultant architect to be appointed by a local School Board.[3] In the century since then, specialist building types have evolved,[4] and at the same time pedagogical theory has gradually developed, to a fine degree, distinctions between appropriate types of schooling for different age-ranges . In particular, contrasting philosophies and practices in primary education which have carried different requirements in architectural provision, have emerged especially markedly since the middle of the twentieth century.

Finally 'delight' is the aesthetic criterion which requires the

buildings which we use to be pleasing to the senses. Some aspects of aesthetics are affected by structural elements, and aesthetic requirements certainly overlap in many respects with the function of the building.

A particular aesthetic aspect is the symbolic role of a school building in the locality. Frequently neglected by educational, and indeed architectural historians, the stong visual symbolism of the school building, conveys both its educational ideals, and its presence as a representative of state authority in a period of compulsory schooling. A fine analysis with regard to the School Board period has been made by the architectural historian Mark Girouard.[5] Girouard shows how the choice for the board schools of 'Queen Anne', an early eighteenth century style based on essentially classical and renaissance details, not only helped to provide a better environment in respect of the light and air which children required, but also contrasted sharply with its Gothic precursors in symbolizing a non-denominational and a more enlightened and more 'rational' approach to education.

Symbolism of a particular educational philosophy was manifest in the 'open-plan' primary schools of post-war England. 'Open-plan' itself became a common but inaccurate term for representing a method of primary schooling, often used interchangeably with terms such as 'progressive', 'informal', 'child-centred' and so on. Much of the publicity given to supposedly 'new methods' in primary education in the 1950s and 1960s created associations in the public and the professional mind, with recognisable images of an almost revolutionary new kind of building.

The sources for this paper, and therefore the institutional background must now be briefly described. In the 'decentralised' system which, although under pressure, still pertains in Britain, responsibility for provision and

design of schools rests with the locally elected education authority (LEA) or other providing body (eg a religious denomination). Central government's Department of Education and Science (DES) (formerly Ministry of Education 1945-64), issues some minimal 'Regulations' which must be adhered to, and also guidelines in the form of advice. To produce this advice the DES maintains a small 'Architects and Building Branch' formed in 1948 and including inter-disciplinary teams called development groups to conduct research.[6] In the 1950s and 1960s a notable contribution to primary school architecture was made by a development group within the Ministry/DES which promoted and publicised examples of more 'open-plan' schools with which Local Education Authorities were experimenting. Results of research and reports on selected new buildings were published in a series of Building Bulletins.

This degree of decentralisation in building design applies also to the primary school curriculum, which is determined locally. Traditionally British features which affect the design of primary schools include the legal requirement of a daily school assembly, which results in the emphasis on a centrally placed school hall, and the important role of physical education for which again a large hall is required. In curricular matters central guidelines are formulated principally by the government inspectorate (Her Majesty's Inspectorate - HMI). Discussion papers on matters of professional concern to teachers are often issued by teachers' unions, the largest of which, and the most representative of primary school staff, is the National Union of Teachers (NUT).

- 3 -

The development of primary school architecture in Britain during the years 1950 to 1970 is well documented by Seaborne and Lowe (1977)[7] and the relationship of architectural form to pedagogical method in this period has been further explored by Stuart Maclure (1984).[8] Catering for vertical age-

grouping ('family grouping') of children, for an integrated curriculum taught through individual and small group work, and sometimes for team-teaching, 'progressive' school buildings broke away from a plan based on separate classrooms, developing a variety of spaces and in particular using traditional circulation spaces, such as corridors, for educational use. This more 'open' plan was accompanied by a more 'informal', even 'domestic' approach to furnishing, such as the use of carpets, easy chairs, wood surfaces and brightly coloured walls with plenty of space for display of children's work. Examples which provide the landmarks in accounts of the historical development of this building style were those model primary schools, well publicised in Building Bulletins issued by the Ministry (later DES), at Amersham, Buckinghamshire (opened 1957)[9], Finmere, Oxfordshire (opened 1959)[10] and the Eveline Lowe School in London (opened 1966).[11] The Ministry's Development Group had a hand in these designs, and as Maclure has commented, they were in a 'progressive' frame of mind, 'plugged into a network of their own contacts', ie teachers, local authority administrators and HMI who were likely to share their own predispositions.[12]

- 4 -

The enthusiasm and support for open plan schools and for the work of the Ministry's Development Group is well documented, but reservations within the professions of architecture and education were being expressed as early as 1967.

Peter Manning, in his account of the Pilkington Research Unit's work, apart from noting that the high reputation of English primary school architecture had been earned by a small proportion of schools amongst many quite undistinguished, also levelled the criticism that:

> "...the purpose and function of primary schools are nowhere adequately defined - at least, not in a form usable by designers - and it is therefore virtually impossible to appraise the performance of a

particular school building against objective criteria." [13]

It is true that the developmental exercises described in the classic Building Bulletins such as no.16 on Woodside Junior School Amersham (1958) and no.36 on Eveline Lowe Primary School, Southwark (1967) depended more on lyrical prose descriptive of informal learning, suffused with enthusiasm for such teaching methods, rather than clinical analysis.

From the educationist's viewpoint, despite the powerful voices in favour, a report from HMI based on a survey of 53 open plan primary schools, though it fairly represented the benefits experienced by children, teachers and communities, added a number of cautionary notes. Some teachers with experience of other systems had found difficulty in adjusting, and some schools were deserting the important pastoral responsibility of one teacher for each child.[13] Above all good planning and careful monitoring were seen to be essential and despite the excellent tone of the great majority of of schools visited, the sound work and curricular variety that was widely apparent,

> Nevertheless some children were working at less than capacity. This happened both in the schools where the children were allowed considerable freedom and those where they were allowed little.[14]

A report published by the National Union of Teachers in 1974 provides valuable documentation of professional teacher reaction to 'progressivism' or open planning, cautiously welcoming some of the principles involved but seeking at the same time to safeguard the teachers' professional independence. Focusing on a central conflict of interest, the report opened by drawing atttention to the danger of open-plan schools being imposed from above, whereas the Union had constantly upheld the view that curriculum and internal organisation were matters for the teachers.

> The Union regards it as one of its major responsibilities to protect the traditional rights of teachers to exercise their judgment in the fields of organisation, curriculum and method, in freedom from outside dictation. [15]

HMI, the DES, LEAs, governors and managers it was claimed, had always paid due regard to this principle. Though this claim lacks a little in historical accuracy it is even more poignant coming only two years before the 'Ruskin speech' and a new campaign against teacher autonomy.

Explicitly, the Union committed itself to no opinion on the organisational and curricular merits of open planning. Implicitly, the tone of the report was favourable to many aspects, although in resisting the imposition on its members of a particular educational method, it noted that this was one so far untested and whose effects were not yet known.[16]

An inevitable conclusion from this position was the demand for teacher consultation in planning new schools. Such consultation was minimal and sporadic in practice as a survey of LEAs, attached to the report, revealed. The Union had long before, in 1961, succeeded in convincing a House of Commons Committee of the need for local authorities to set up panels of teachers to assist with the planning of new school buildings, but very few LEAs had responded. Admitting the legal responsibility of the local authority to provide, and to determine the general character of schools, the report appealed to the tradition of leaving internal organisation and matters of curriculum and method to its teachers. It followed logically that the profession ought to be consulted early in the process of designing a school building.

For the purposes of its report on Open Planning in 1974, the NUT conducted a survey of teacher opinion through Local Associations of the Union. Only a relatively small number of replies was received, not necessarily representative of the Union's membership as a whole; moreover the replies understandably came from a higher proportion of those who had experienced open planning. The latter fact may partly account for a generally positive

response concerning the educational benefits of open planning in terms of children's gain in independence, in social maturity, initiative and self-discipline, and in variety of work, amongst other factors. Most respondents however did not consider that open planning helped children to improve their standard of presentation of work, or depth of study.

Particular concerns and reservations are of interest in revealing some common concerns expressed about open planning. Teachers with experience of formal classrooms found the output of visible work very much less in the open plan school, leading to possible interpretation by parents as lack of progress. Noise level was a factor which clearly concerned teachers, over half of the local Associations stressing the need for really quiet areas, and one teacher referring to possible exhausting effects of noise, although no member of the Working Party responsible for the report had felt that noise levels were unacceptable or even perceptible as a separate factor. More mental strain on teachers was another factor.

A flexible environment rather than rigid open plan was considered by some more suitable for a child-centred approach, and interestingly one or two replies considered that open plan building was a passing phase, so that child-centred education would develop in the future in a more traditional type of building.

- 5 -

Despite the much publicised model primary schools which had been the subject of Building Bulletins in the 1950s and 1960s, the overall state of the national primary school building stock in 1977 gave a less rosy picture of progress made since the war. The facts were publicised in a DES report following two sample surveys made in 1975 and 1976.[17]

At this time there were 23,000 primary schools and 5000 secondary schools in England and Wales. For historical reasons, a higher proportion of the

primary schools were older: 36% having some accommodation dating from before 1903, compared with only 12% of the secondary schools. As many of the older schools were smaller, it needs to be added that the 36% of primary school buildings represented 20% of primary school places built at the turn of the century or earlier. As against this, 45% of buildings (representing 51% of places) had been built since 1945.

The quality of the primary school buildings is illustrated by a variety of statistics. Almost half of the classrooms or teaching spaces in pre-1945 buildings were less than 500 square feet, giving accommodation for no more than 20 children by current standards (whereas the average primary class size in 1976 was 29.2). 37% of primary schools were overcrowded. Only 24% met the modern standards of provision for staff accommodation and 9% had none at all. 39% had no playing field within 1/4 mile (400m). 22% of primary schools were accommodated on more than one storey, a feature by now considered undesirable for this age group, and 30% still had some outdoor lavatories.

A most important feature was that the deficiencies were of course most prevalent in the oldest schools and that 23% of the pre-1903 primary schools were in a poor local environment as defined with regard to traffic noise and industrial pollution.

Moreover, a survey made by government inspectors (HMI) in 1983, noted as one of its main findings that

> Problems with accommodation and the maintenance and repair of buildings remain and the long term consequences of the deterioration in the capital stock of buildings are particularly worrying.

Planned programmes of maintenance were judged to be less than satisfactory in 59 out of the 97 Local Education Authorities.[18] By 1984 it was revealed that emergency repairs were taking up to 50-55% of the maintenance budget, compared with the normal 35%.[19]

Small wonder then that the emphasis in more recent publications by the

DES Architects and Building Branch should concern itself with remodelling. Documentation produced since 1980, whilst reflecting growing financial stringency in less voluminous publication and less lavish presentation, remains a useful source for the embodiment of educational trends in building policy.

The Architects and Building Branch Broadsheets are more modest productions than the Building Bulletins referred to earlier. Broadsheet no.3 (1980) concerned the remodelling of a school at Burslem, Stoke-on-Trent. A central hall plan with eight classrooms, originally built in 1903 was redesigned to provide six self-contained or linked teaching units; after remodelling the hall remained in use, indicating the continuing importance of assembly and of physical education within the curriculum. Also provided as a central facility, however, was a library, reflecting developments in attitudes to reading in which free pupil choice plays an important part. Significant in curricular terms was the emphasis on flexibility: a range of interchangeable wall components and specially designed mobile sinks and power points were installed to give maximum adaptability for the teacher. Not only did this give greater autonomy to the teachers in organising their own teaching space, but it recognised the likelihood of continuing change in both educational methods and pupil numbers.[20]

In 1981 new Regulations concerning school premises were introduced by the DES embodying a fresh approach to the selection and design of school sites. In line with general government philosophy, the deregulation of certain minimum requirements transferred responsibility to the local provider of the school. Possible economies may also have been a consideration. However, from a curricular point of view it is noteworthy that Regulation 5 sought to protect and support certain school activities by requiring outdoor areas to be porovided specifically for outdoor education: creative play and exploration for younger age-groups and subject-related activities such as

art, craft and science for older children. Broadsheet no.9 in 1982 offered advice by referring to good examples already in existence such as Chaucer Infant and Nursery School (Ilkeston, Derbyshire - 1974) with its covered work areas linking teaching spaces to grassed and planted banks, and its adjacent adventure playground, and Guillemont Junior School (Farnborough, Hampshire - 1976) with its covered work areas for outdoor craft, enclosed landscape courtyards and work patios, grass mounds, nature ponds, and paved areas for formal and informal games.[21]

Finally, reflecting on the changing and difficult relationship between school and community, a Broadsheet of 1983 dealt with the question of vandalism in schools. Containing mostly practical advice concerning consultation at local authority and school levels, it also promulgated the principle that involvement of the community, through community use of facilitis, would be an effective preventive measure. Attempts to reduce vandalism should be justifiable not only in terms of cost-effectiveness but also on social and moral grounds; defensive measures should help rather than hinder a school in making ties with the community. Heavy policing and fortress-like protection were thus ill-advised; 'Over-prevention will produce a result far removed from the pleasant appearance and civilising influence which an educational building can bring to a neighbourhood.[22]

The 40th anniversary of the 1944 Education Act saw many 'progressive' principles such as outdoor education and community use now taken for granted, but the main concern was now not with pioneering new building forms, but with economy and with making the best use of inherited facilities.

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RESUME

L'architecture de l'école est devenue de plus en plus spécialisée. Elle constitue une source très riche pour les historiens grâce en particulier au symbolisme des formes architecturales. Les écoles 'open-plan' (non-cloisonnées) par exemple fournissaient la manifestation visuelle de la pratique 'progressive' de l'education primaire en Bretagne pendant les annees cinquante.

Le système de l'éducation Britannique crée des types distinctifs de source documentaire pour l'architecture scolaire. La documentation de la pensée architecturale a l'éducation en Bretagne est ébauchée dans la deuxième partie.

Dans la troisième partie l'évolution des écoles 'open-plan' est constatée à travers quelques références bibliographiques. La partie quatrième raconte certaines inquiétudes sur les tendances de la mode architecturale des nouvelles écoles primaires. On décrit une estimation circonspecte par des architectes, des gestionnaires et des professeurs dès 1967. Une architecte-rechercheur en 1967 mit en question la rigueur de l'analyse scientifique dans le dessin des plans des écoles primaires. Un compte-rendu par HMI (Inspecteurs-généraux) en 1972 remarqua les inconvénients possibles des 'open-plans'. L'enquête par un syndicat de professeurs publiée en 1974 s'occupa des implications de certaines formes architecturales sur l'autonomie professionelle.

La partie cinquième trait du recul depuis 1980 de l'époque 'héroique' de la construction des écoles primaires, et les déplacements d'interêt qui se réfléchissaient dans la documentation officielle. La sagesse financière de l'adaptation des bâtiments vieux, et le besoin de construire souplement pour accommoder les changements continus des méthodes pédagogiques.

COMPULSORY SCHOOLING AND THE REDEFINITION OF ENGLISH EDUCATION

Roy Lowe

Compulsory schooling is a relatively recent phenomenon in England, and some commentators might question whether it has ever been effectively achieved. There are certainly signs at the present time of fairly widespread avoidance of the laws requiring attendance by young people at school, and this may be no more than an extension of patterns of avoidance which have persisted (albeit among relatively small minorities) throughout the most recent hundred years. It is necessary to start, therefore, by raising the question of whether compulsory schooling has ever been effectively implemented in England.

Legislative attempts, first to encourage, and then to enforce schooling were made during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. First, the 1870 Education Act enabled the establishment of School Boards in some parts of the country - but not all. Some rural areas contined to be served by voluntary schools alone until the twentieth century. These Boards were allowed to introduce bye-laws encouraging compulsion, but were not obliged to do so. These bye-laws which were introduced differed widely in various parts of the country and made avoidance relatively easy for parents and employers. It has been estimated by John Hurt that only 46% of the population was living in areas where compulsion was demanded by 1876, the vast majority of these being in London and the other major cities.(1)

In 1876 the Education Department issued model bye-laws which obliged the School Boards to become more effective agents of compulsion. Yet at the same time, the 1876 Education Act enabled the voluntary societies to benefit from school attendance committees, but did not require the establishment of these committees. Thus, as the 1870s progressed, contrasts between the towns, where the majority of children were required to attend school, and the more permissive rural areas, were heightened. In 1879 some six million people in rural areas remained unaffected by bye-laws demanding attendance.

When Gladstone returned to power in April 1880, it fell to A.J. Mundella to iron out these inconsistencies. As D.K. Jones has commented, Mundella

> was one of the new breed of Liberals who saw the state as the guarantor rather than the enemy of the liberty of the individual; his first act was to complete the legislation of 1870 and 1876 by ending the farce of permissive compulsion.(2)

Mundella's 1880 legislation imposed compulsory attendance on the areas covered by the 450 (mostly rural) school boards which hadno effective bye-laws, and on the vast majority of rural voluntary schools. Most authorities complied; over 1,200 sets of bye-laws were approved with only a small minority of school boards and local authorities failing to respond.

Yet it would be mistaken to think that these developments established 'the custodial imperative' upon all English school children. It was not until 1891 that the requirement to pay school pence was removed, and this had continued to act as a discentive to some parents throughout the 1880s. Further, the half-time system, by which some children were allowed to spend part of their time in

schools and the rest in factories, was not ended until 1918. It had been initiated by the 1844 Factory Act. This introduced legal requirements for the education of young employees which were not significantly altered before 1918.(3) In 1874 the minimum age of employment in textile factories was raised to 10; not until 1878 was this provision extended to all employers. This minimum was raised to 11 in 1893 and to 12 in 1899. Thus, pupils who had passed Standard IV, or who could demonstrate satisfactory school attendance for five years, or who held a 'half-time' certificate guaranteeing their literacy and numeracy, all were able to circumvent the legislation which required compulsory attendance. Nonetheless, between 1870 and 1880 an elementary schooling became the shared experience of the vast majority of English school children, and this may reasonably be regarded as the period when compulsory schooling was effectively established.

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The coming of compulsion coincided historically with several other key developments in the history of English schooling. This article will attempt, first, to identify these developments briefly, and then to raise the question of how far they can be seen as the necessary concomitants of universal elementary schooling. To what extent did compulosry schooling result in the redefinition of English education? This is the central issue tackled in this paper.

The first marked development of the late-nineteenth century was the broadening of the elementary school curriculum. The Revised

Code of 1862 originally required schools to concentrate on the three R's. From 1867 it was possible for them to earn a higher grant through a broader curriculum. John Hurt has shown that when the regulations were again changed in 1875, so that these extra subjects became known as specific subjects, it was only a small minority of school pupils who were introduced to them.(4) The fact remains, though, that by 1895 there were thirty recognized subjects for elementary school teachers to choose from when submitting pupils for the annual examination. During the years before the First World War the Board of Education's Annual Reports drew attention to the broadening of the elementary school curriculum, and while these claims may have been in part propagandist, they cannot disguise the extent to which the steady extension of the Revised Code anticipated the wider curriculum experienced by most children in the early twentieth century.

It is worth asking how far these curricular developments may be viewed as an attempt at 'social control'.(5) Certainly, the more ubiquitous experience of schooling meant that the bulk of the population were henceforth to be influenced more effectively than ever before by school teachers. The vigorous debates over drilling in the elementary schools, on the one hand, and on the provison of an education in domestic skills for working class girls on the other, may both be seen as reflecting a concern to control the mores and lifestyles of the urban poor during the early twentieth century. R.J.W. Selleck has reflected on the variety of motives which impelled the 'practical educationalists' at the turn of the century to press

for nature study, manual training, drawing and science in the elementary school curriculum. James Welton, the Professor of Education at the University of Leeds, commented pertinently

> what is taught must fit them for their future lives ... the primary school should not only provide for the exigencies of domestic and social life, but should secure a sufficiently broad basis for future utilitarian life.(6)

A more direct political motive was apparent in the lobbying of the Eugenics Education Society, founded in 1907, which feared the spectre of national deterioration and whose representatives in 1913 lobbied Charles Trevelyan at the Board of Education to demand compulsory sex hygiene and eugenics in schools.(7) Although they were unsuccessful, the increasing popularity of drill, organised games, cookery, laundry work and housewifery in the elementary schools may be seen as being, in part at least, a response to the fears of eugenicists.

Not only did the turn of the century see an effective broadening of the elementary school curriculum, but also it was a period when the whole concept of elementary schoolteaching was redefined and extended. Previously, the role of the teacher had been seen as beginning and ending with instruction: only a small minority would have anticipated much more. By the early twentieth century it was becoming increasingly accepted that the teacher had responsibility for the physical welfare of children. This came to be seen by growing numbers as a necessary precondition for effective learning.

There can be little doubt that the coming of universal education, involving the appearance of social groups who had previously fallen through the net in elementary school was one key

factor leading to this redefintion. Charles Booth's well-known survey of the London poor identified these social groups and was in little doubt as to the demands they would make of the schoolsystem. Mary Tabor, one of Booth's co-researchers wrote

> Schools containing any large proportion of children from such homes are known as "Special Difficulty" schools. The work in them is more laborious, the teaching staff more costly, the children more sickly, dull and ill-conditioned, the Government grant smaller and more difficult to earn. ... There are 22 of these "Special Difficulty" schools in London, containing about 21,000 children.(8)

The result was not only the establishment of 'O' grade classes for pupils with learning difficulties in the Board schools (the first such classes were opened in London during the 1880s and their appearance forced a reconsideration of teaching methods on the staff employed inthem)(9). Increasingly, schools or benevolent organisations working through them, began to provide the food and medical care which these necessitous pupils would otherwise not receive. The Destitute Children's Dinner Society (from 1864 onwards) and the Children's Free Breakfast and Dinner Fund, launched by the Referee newspaper in 1880 became by the end of the century the two leading voluntary agencies which, in the Metropolis, anticipated the widespread provision of school meals in the twentieth century by the new Local Education Authorities.(10)

Similarly, medical care became increasingly the responsibility of the schools. During the 1890s an increasing number of School Boards used loopholes in the regulations to appoint school medical officers, and what began as a concern with vermin (particularly body lice and ringworm) and eyesight extended increasingly to a concern

for the general medical condition of the pupils.[11] Most school boards which became involved in this movement stopped short of treatment, seeing their function as being to assist in the diagnosis of defect and to advise parents to seek medical help elsewhere. During the early twentieth century, after the establishment of a Medical Department at the Board of Education, school clinics became increasingly common and both dental and medical treatment became available through the school health service. A concern for the physical wellbeing of pupils became almost as natural to the elementary school teacher as the concern with scholastic progress. There can be little doubt that this redefinition was intimately linked to the coming of compulsory schooling.

During the first decade of the twentieth century, for themost sickly children, some authorities established open air schools on the outskirts of the major cities.[12] These 'recovery schools' as they became known were halfway between clinics and educational establishments, and were a further catalyst to the assumption of a 'welfare' function by educators. Equally significantly, these schools were usually designed on 'pavilion' principles, so that the pupils in them, who were bussed out daily from the inner city areas, could derive full benefit from their semi-rural environemnt. This stemmed from a general belief in the healing properties of 'Nature' and reflected the high incidence of tuberculosis. Those school architects who were involved in the planning of more salubrious elementary schools for the urban areas quickly saw the significance of these pavilions - involving clerestorey lighting and cross

ventilation - for the ordinary urban elementary school. By 1914 the planning of elementary schools was being revolutionised, and in the process the contrasts between the secondary schools (catering for a middle-class minority) and the elementary schools attended by the majority of English school chiildren, were heightened.(13) So, another outcome - albeit unintended - of compulsory schooling proved to be the increased stratification of the English educational system, clearly spelt out in its architecture.

Two further developments are worthy of mention. First, the 'universalizing' of schooling led inexorably to the increasing bureaucratisation of the system. The replacement of School Boards by Local Education Authorities in 1902 meant a significant increase in the scale of local administration, and was therefore a significant step towards the bureaucratisation of the system. At the same moment, historically, several central agencies were brought together in the Board of Education which was brought into a regular, supervisory relationship with the new local authorities.(14) It is easy to see that in this process what was being created was a mechanism for the greater 'standardisation' of English education, with all its attendant strengths and weaknesses.

Secondly, these processes all had implications for the politics of English education, and one point in particular is worth mentioning in this context. The Labour movement and a variety of working-class organistions saw in these developments the realisation of several long-term goals. During the nineteenth century, in a situation in which education had not been free, secular and compulsory, there had beennumerous and repeated attempts to substitute for the schooling

provided by the State or the Churches indigenous working class schooling systems, most notably Chartist schools and the late-nineteenth century Socialist Sundary Schools. Now Labour was drawn - at precisely the moment its parliamentary representation began to grow - into a defence of state education, into the question of how best to articulate and support a system of universal schooling. Richard Johnson and others have explored the process by which 'substitutionism' gave way to 'statism' (15) but it seems no accident that this process also coincided historically with the coming of compulsory schooling.

In sum, these developments were no lessw than a redefintion of schooling in England - both in its processes and in the ways in which it was poerceived by educators, by its recipients the pupils, and by wider society. It seems no coincidence that this redefinition coincided historically with the coming of compulsion. It was the advent of universal elementary schooling at the turn of the twentieth century which led to this major reconsideration of the nature and functions of education.

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SUMMARY

This paper reviews the steps towards compulsory schooling in England during the late-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This account raises as a prior question the issue of whether in reality universality has ever been achieved in England, while not contesting the fact that for much of the twentieth century some experience of schooling has been the lot of the vast majority of English children.

The coming of compulsory education coincided with several other developments which are briefly outlined. They include a broadening of the school curriculum, linked possibly to a redefinition of motives on the part of the providers of elementary schooling. At the same time teachers began to take a more systematic interest inthe physical welfare of children, and some of the special schools which began to appear were based on new design principles which quickly became applied to the whole of the elementary sector. The system as a whole became more bureaucratised and more standardised, and the Labour movement was drawn inexorably into a defence of this developing state system and away from the establishment of its own indigenous educational ventures.

It is argued that, in sum, these developments provide evidence of a redefinition of English education during this period which stemmed in large part from the coming of universal schooling.

THE EFFECTS OF COMPULSORY EDUCATION ON SCHOOL ARCHITECTURE

Attila Horvath

In order to speak about the effects of something it is needed to have a clear notion of the meaning of our subject. Compulsory education seems to be an unambigous concept but a closer look convinces the researcher of the opposite. For sometime legal enforcement was aimed at the obligatory learning of children, like in Norway and Sweden in the 17th century where royal decrees forbid the confirmation and marriage of illiterates. Apprenticeship laws, first the one of Henry VIII., stated that all children found begging or idle were to be bound apprentices to some handicraft. Later the law intended to compel children to go to schools, i.e. attendance and not learning was compulsory. Legal measures were obviously not enough motivation for the people: school laws were issued from the beginning of the 19th century all over in Europe in enourmous amounts - without any results (e.g. Bavaria 1802, 1811, 1830; Württenberg 1808, 1810, 1836; Nassau 1817; Weimar 1821, 1822; Baden 1834; Saxony 1835. In England a series of bills on the promotion of schools was defeated: Whitbread 1807, Brougham 1820, Fox 1850 Bills; in 1855 five educational bills were voted down in the Parliament.[1] It is clear that compulsory education, as it is meant today, also, by definition, involved definite state intrusion into the matters of child rearing. Legal and financial measures were taken in order to establish a system of compulsory

schooling. By the mid-nineteenth century education of the individual was not only a moral obligation to the Church but also a duty of every citizen toward the State. Laws were not enough to secure state control over the subjects, the necessary educational environment had to be provided. Strong efforts in school building programs were thus part and parcel of the realization of compulsory education. In this paper I intend to show the role architecture played in the power-game over controlling education. For maintaining power over education two things were necessary besides legal and financial actions: a uniform system of schools (for the better administration) and a solid legitimization, an ideology that proved the superiority of professional state control over local or Church authorities.

In the nineteenth century Europe and America people started to lack a tool which made them able to find their way through the problems of their everyday lives. Old, feudalistic morals and guidelines were inapt in a rapidly changing and developing industrialized society. The confusion of values were best illustrated by the novels written on the hypocrisy of Victorian England or of France: prudery on the surface and lush life behind the screens. A new trust worthy ideology was needed which would tell the difference between truth and lie. Thus Modern Science has been born. Science that was based on empirical evidence seemed to save culture: it was "objective" and impartial. The laws of science were incorrup-

tible, they were compelling for everybody on Earth irrespective of breed or financial position. Everything could have been questioned and altered but scientific laws and God. (This is why it was written by Herbert Spencer that "acquirement of every kind has two values - value as knowledge and value as discipline."[2] Moreover he stated that science has religious importance; hinting at morally disciplining effect of tabulated data.) Just because of these characteristics could have science become the buttress of state controlled education. Until this time the raising of people had been the task of the Church. While the Churches of Europe had been under constant fire that they are not prepared to fulfill their duty in educating the young, they had an argument against secular schooling that could not have been dismissed easily. The differing Churches of the Continent argued in the same vein: The most sacred affair of mankind, education, cannot be trusted on the caprice of state politics. It was argued that religion provided the stable and unchanging philosophical basis for socialization of children. This is why the supervision of schools and partly the content of teaching was in the hands of the Church for a long time. Practically state owned and directed school system worked in Prussia from the beginning of the 19th century but still supervision was exercised by the clergy. In Great Britain the double school system was in fact over represented by the schools of the religious National Society - it owned over 11 000 out of the 20 000 schools of the country. In Hungary the centralized school system was established in 1777 by the

Ratio Educationis but Church controlled the schools directly until the 1868 law on public education. It is clear that the state was not able to gain power over the interna of education (content and methods). It turned, for this very reason, to the control of the externa (the educational environment) and in doing this the force of science was used. In designing schools science became controlling factor through hygiene. Preserving the health of school children while ensuring the optimum learning environment on strictly scientific basis was the chief concern of educators. School hygiene turned to be the common denominator for the architects of the Modern World. Since the laws of science, in our case hygiene, were universally applicable consequently the result was the invention of universally applicable models in education. First school buildings started to look similar all over the World and later the uniform form brought the use of uniform methods. Herbart's psychology and school hygiene helped to cast the modern international school style. Building regulations, state issued model plans wrought the professional basis for scientifically planned school systems.

Scientific professionalism in school architecture emerged in New England. On a competition about the ideal school the following was written:

> Health, as well as time, is money; and it is a most mistaken economy which confines a child to those arrangements and to that atmospheric impurity, which render him unfit for vigorous effort and thus slowly, though safely, impair his constitution...[3]

The winner essay suggested to build "most spacious buldings."

A colleague of the author worded the argument in a poetic way:

> Uneasy bodies render the mind uneasy and restless. Clear images of truth cannot be reflected from turbid and agitated water.[4]

Scientific explorations on the nature of respiration resulted in direct connections drawn between intellectual performance and the amount of oxygen in the classroom. Educators scared each other and the public with spooky stories. One of the favorites was the one about the "Black Hole of Calcutta". Scientifically justified "suggested models for buildings" also affected the daily routines of education. Perhaps the best example was the use of thermometers in schools. Temperature control and ventilation could not have been trusted on the fancy of teachers, even temperature was maintained according to the thermometer. The ideal room temperature for learning was experimentally set. The severity of hygenic laws and their moral consequences were advocated by such an authority as Spencer:

> The preservation of health is a duty. Few seem conscious that there is such a thing as physical morality. Men's habitual words and acts imply the idea that they are at liberty to treat their bodies as they please. ... The fact is, that all breaches of the laws of health are physical sins.[5]

Natural laws slowly seemed to take the place of religious dogma. Hodgins' words from 1876 were typical: "Ventilation and cleanliness are not miracles to be prayed for, but certain results of common obedience to the laws of God."[6]

From the 1860s the problem of hygiene in schools became central all over the world. In the Anglo-Saxon countries it was ventilation that attracted the most interest. The purity

of air occupied crucial and long chapters in the works of the most recognized English architect, E.R. Robson (he was London's chief architect) and of Hodgins whose book was an excellent compilation on North American views on school buildings. In the German territories the works of school doctors took the lead in thinking about school architecture. The works of Grafe (1850), Zwez (1864) and Reimann (1885) gave specific advice on how a good school should be constructed.[7] For German educators bad air caused fewer headaches than lighting. American visitors were horrified by the conditions they met in Germany, they found no proper arrangements for warming and ventilating on "scientific principles". For the Germans it was the amount and the direction of light that received utmost attention. Medical authorities on school architecture stated that the best is to receive the light from the left hand side. In any other case, they argued, either the writing hand or the head of the pupil would shed the paper, thus ruining the eye of the child. In the beginning of the century bilateral lighting was common.[8] Horace Mann reported in 1844 that pupils usually get the light from the left, later Robson (1874) and Hodgins (1876) wrote about monolateral lighting as a rigid rule.[9] Because of the importance of lighting German authorities established minimum standards for the size of windows in classrooms. It was expressed in the ratio of glass surfaces to the floor area. The size and the shape of school rooms, which had been the result of a long tradition, was justified on a scientific basis

> As a rule it may be laid down that the scholar (if his eye be in it's normal condition) can read writing on the wall at a distance of 27 feet. The length of the classroom, therefore, might be 30 feet. The breadth should not be more than 21 feet, because then pillars or complicated construction are required. ... A large classroom should be rather oblong in shape and not less than 13 feet in clear height.[10]

Science in the form of school hygiene proved to be an excellent tool in the hands of educators all over the World. By referring to scientific principles, one could defend the need for uniform designs in Germany or by putting into consideration some other but not less scientific laws, one could support the professional authority of an architect elsewhere. The state authorities started to issue model plans which were suggestions for the would be schoolbuilders. The first model plan collection was the 1806-1809 "Düsseldorfer Normalplanen", then in 1815 in Münich another compilation was published.[11] State control over school architecture appeared in England in 1833 when the exchequer funds were used for school building. The money was, however, administered through voluntary (religious) societies. But already in 1839 the Committee of Council on Education distributed grants on the condition that the "building in its general character must comply with certain rules of the Committee as certified by the Committee's inspectors."[12] For better results the Committee issued model plans, suggested designs and an illustrated memorandum in 1840, 1844 and 1851 respectively. In 1863 Rules were following suggestions thus helping the establishment of the new school building fashion the school board style. This allowed English schools to

introduce classroom teaching, making them more receptive to the German educational thinking. The change in the state's tactics came in the 1870s. Compulsory elementary schooling was organized in Hungary in 1868 and it included compulsory requirements towards school buildings (8-12 sq. feet per capita). Supervision in Germany was done systematically after the establishment of the Second Reich (1871).

> (A)nd even the private schools are not exempt from state interference. ... In Holland also a building cannot be used for school purposes, public or private without an inspection and certificate of fitness.[13]

When in 1870 in England the Forster Education Act was enacted an extensive school building program was started. In five years 5 000 schools were added to the existing 8 000. In 1872 April Building Rules were issued which were very strict.

> All classrooms must be entered from the schoolroom; whereever possible a large extra classroom with roof light or high windows should be available for drawing classes; there must always be separate playgrounds for boys and girls...[14]

Standards were justified on the basis of hygiene, at least 10 sq. feet should have been provided for every child. New state built schools complied easily with the new rules, but hygienic standards hit hard voluntary schools which had to reduce the number of pupils and lost out on a considerable amount of school fees. Central halls were superseded by classrooms because of better ventilation, the condescending schoolroom which was used for regular gatherings was left for "a magazine for fresh air". The prototype plan became the famous Ben Jonson School which was the result of the 1870 London

School Board design competition. In America there were several suggested plans but they were "unofficial". Their purpose was something like of a department store catalogue - offered the prevalent fashion at moderate prices. It emphasized that:

> Given plans are suggested, but are never to be copied. Individuality and originality should characterize the educational nurseries of the race.[15]

Stock-plans were not yet issued in the United States at this time but in the first years of the new century professional government control has strenghtened. School board members and supervisors became appointed in more and more states rather than elected. Elected bodies were replaced by paid experts in order to "remove the school from the effects of popular caprice and change."[16]

Hygiene triggered regulations have reached their peak in the first decade of the 20th century. Conferences organized on the topic in Nüremberg (1904), London (1907) and Paris (1910) signalled the trend that curing physical ills was seen as to heal social injuries. As to the results in school architecture here is an account of the period from 1915 to 1945:

> (P)rogress in school planning slowed up, and probably the greatest reason was the enactment of codes and regulations. Laws were passed that restricted bilateral lighting. Laws were passed too, that regulated the size and shape of classrooms. There were even laws that said in just what direction the axis of the classrooms should be oriented... Only a good Mohammedan could catch the spirit of such planning.[17]

Notes:

1 On the subject see: Attila Horváth, Social Control and School Architecture: A Brief History of Thought on Elementary Education and School Building Design. Unpublished Doctoral dissertation, 1984. (Dalhousie Univ., Halifax)

2 Spencer, H. Essays on Education and Kindred Subjects. London-Dent-New York: Dutton, 1966. 100.p.

3 Alcott, W.A. Essay on the Construction of School-Houses. Boston: Hilliard et al., 1832. 7.p.

4 Woodbridge in Alcott op.cit. 37.p.

5 Spencer, H. 152.p.

6 Hodgins, J.G. The School House. Toronto: Copp-Clark, 1876.

7 Schmidt, R. Volksschule und Volksschulbau von den Anfangen des niederen Schulwesens bis in die Gegenwart. Wiesbaden - Dotzheim: Deutscher Fachschriften - Verlag, 1967.

8 Vorherr, I.M.C.G. Dorf=Schulen. München: n.p., 1811.

9 Robson, E.R. School Architecture. London: J. Murray, 1874. and Hodgins op.cit.

10 Minister of Prussia cited by Robson, E.R. 84.p.

11 Schmidt, R. op.cit.

12 Cited by Hughes, J.J. - Klemm, L.R. Progress of Education in the Century. London-Edinburgh: W. et R. Chambers, 1903.

13 Robson, E.R. 8-9.p.

14 Cited by Seaborne, M. - Lowe, R. The English School. Its Architecture and Organization. Vol.II. London:RKP,1977. 25.p.

15 Baldwin, J. The Art of School Management. Toronto: Gage, 1885. 22.p.

16 Hughes, R.E. The Making of Citizens. London: Walter Scott Publ. Co., Ltd., 1902. 131.p.

17 Caudill, W.W. Toward Better School Design. New York: F.W. Dodge, 1954. 16.p.

RESUME

Bien que le titre suggère que l'introduction de l'enseignement obligatoire a influencé de façon unilaterale sur l'aspect architecturial des écoles, l'étude cherche à prouver la determination mutuelle. En Angleterre et dans l'aire de la langue allemende jusqu'au troisième tiers du siècle passé on a essayé d'assurer de nombreuses lois et propositions la scolarité obligatoire - sans succès. A la réalisation de l'école obligatoire serait appartenu une organisation burocratique unifiée et centralisée fonctionnant plus ou moins comme un monopole d'état, une régime scolaire homogène. Dans l'intéret de l'intervention d'état il fallu vaincre la résistance de l'Église. Les états ont du créer, contre la philosophie de la réligion, une base légitime convenablement stable - cela est devenue le fondement scientifique de la politique d'éducation. Le science, "objectif" par sa nature, dont les lois sont pareillement justes pour tout le monde et partout dans le monde entier s'est manifesté dans deux domaines: dans la methodologie (psychologie) et dans la hygiène scolaire qui avait une grande influence sur l'infrastructure de l'enseignement. Mon étude essaie de prouver qu'à partir des années 1870, l'intérêt médical de plus en plus vif vers les bâtiments scolaires a facilité l'uniformisation des écoles du monde entier. A l'effet des résultats d'un science international, l'école jusqu'alors caractéristiquement prussienne, anglaise ou américaine devienne une école internationale perdue ses spécifités nationales. La repartition intérieure des écoles se transforme en systéme de salle de classe où la grandeur des salles se détermine par les données de mètre carré fixé de la quote-part de tête même que la grandeur de la surface de fenêtre et la direction de la lumière (de la gauche!), le système du chauffage et de l'aération. Le cadre d'espace devenant unifié a nécessairement entrainé l'expansion des théories de la méthode d'enseignement unifié qui a facilité la direction centrale du ministère (d'état). Évidemment l'unification n'a pas attendu partout les mêmes mesures. L'effet uniformisant de l'hygiène scolaire dans les états allemands et au territoire de la Monarchie austro-hongroise s'est produisé de façon plus forte, tandis que dans les pays anglo-saxons de façon plus faible et un-peu tardivement (au tournant du siècle).

RAPPORTI TRA IGIENE E SCUOLA NELLA SECONDA METÀ DELL''800 INIZI DEL '900. L'IGIENE PEDAGOGICA

Maria Teresa Bassa Poropat
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Angelo Celli, successore di Tommasi Crudeli, che fu il primo a ricoprire in Italia una cattedra di Igiene, quella di Roma, sul finire dell'Ottocento riassumeva i progressi compiuti da questa disciplina. Lo faceva rappresentando questa scienza come un albero le cui radici traevano nutrimento dalla fisica, dalla chimica, dalla micropatologia, dalle scienze naturali, mentre i rami, costituiti dall'igiene degli ospedali, dell'industria, degli organi, dall'igiene scolastica e infantile ecc. fino all'igiene morale, si dipartivano dal tronco per congiungersi nella cima rappresentata da quell'igiene sociale "meta suprema e sospirato destino dell'umanità" (1).
L'albero del Celli raffigura in modo chiaro la penetrazione, affermatasi o solo auspicata, dell'igiene in ogni campo della vita quotidiana ed istituzionale dell'individuo: rappresenta cioè la sua aspirazione a diventare una scienza universale in grado, da sola, di sanare il corpo malato della società. Gli igienisti infatti pongono all'attenzione dei governi la necessità di bonificare gli ambienti malsani dei rioni più poveri della città, dove malattia e mortalità raggiungevano cifre drammatiche, dettando norme e regole per la costruzione di quartieri ed edifici, che entrano nei regolamenti sanitari ed edilizi e diffondondendo tutta una serie di principi sull'igiene della vita quotidiana, e sull'allevamento del bambino in particolare.
L'uomo viene analizzato e studiato in ogni sua manifestazione fisica e psichica. Il corpo, grazie ai progressi della fisiologia e agli strumenti dell'antropometria, è scandagliato, misurato, soppesato alla ricerca di criteri di normalità: la devianza si affermerà come logica conseguenza.

Ad una prima fase di lotta contro pregiudizi e superstizioni, coltivate dal popolo in ambito medico, si sostituisce ben presto un più vasto progetto di educazione igienico-sanitaria. Come la Città doveva crescere e svilupparsi in modo da garantire condizioni di vita salubri, così l'individuo andava fabbricato secondo regole e norme che ne garantissero uno sviluppo fisico e psichico equilibrato, in armonia con gli obiettivi della società. L'igiene finirà così per diventare anche una scienza del comportamento morale dell'uomo, legando la salute del corpo con quella della mente, coniugando mente e corpo in un indissolubile intreccio. In questa logica, l'igiene si trova in consonanza con gli obiettivi di un'educazione per il popolo che, attraverso l'istruzione obbligatoria, i governi, in Italia e negli stati europei, si pongono.

Gli igienisti sostengono infatti l'obbligatorietà scolastica, in quanto, attraverso di essa, vedono la possibilità della formazione di una coscienza igienica e sanitaria dei futuri cittadini, ma nel contempo denunciano i danni che una scuola inadatta poteva arrecare allo sviluppo fisico ed intellettuale dei ragazzi.

"Al diritto di imporre l'istruzione obbligatoria corrisponde ad un tempo nello stato l'obbligo di sopperire a tutte le esigenze che porta con sè, e che riflettono lo sviluppo intellettuale e fisico della gioventù. Lo stato, oltre a provvedere che non derivi danno alla salute degli scolari, o per il fabbricato o per gli arredi scolastici, ha anche il dovere di prendere in esame tutte le altre circostanze che sono connesse alla scuola, e che possono esercitare una influenza malefica sulla salute dei fanciulli" (2).

Un appello ai doveri dello stato, che traeva i suoi fondamenti dalla situazione disastrosa relativa all'attuazione della obbligatorietà scolastica in Italia, che le inchieste del 1868, 1872, 1879 e successive avevano chiaramente denunciato (3).

Lo stato dunque, nel momento in cui aveva sancito l'obbligatorietà scolastica, aveva il dovere di assumersi l'onere di garantire il benessere in-

tellettuale e morale degli allievi, ma sopra ogni cosa il loro benessere fisico. Pertanto l'igiene doveva entrare nella scuola a pieno diritto, sia come scienza in grado di offrire alla pedagogia criteri e parametri scientifici cui ancorare il proprio discorso, sia come materia d'insegnamento a tutti i livelli dell'istruzione e nella stessa formazione professionale del maestro.

Senza mezzi termini il De Giaxa attribuisce all'igienista un ruolo preminente nell'ambito della scuola e delinea di fatto una subordinazione della pedagogia ai dettami dell'igiene, pur definendo la diversità dei compiti e auspicando un progredire comune della pedagogia e dell'igiene. "Oggidì il pedagogo non può negare all'igienista la competenza di farsi giudice del suo metodo di istruzione e delle sue attribuzioni, perchè si è pur una volta compreso, che l'igienista nulla ha a che fare col merito dell'educazione ed istruzione, ma limita il proprio assunto a ciò solo, che il metodo d'istruzione non abbia ad essere dannoso al fisico dello scolaro e nello stesso tempo, che almeno nei primi anni, la educazione fisica, vadi di pari passo colla educazione morale" (4). Ai pedagogisti quindi definire gli obiettivi della educazione, all'igienista controllare i modi di impartire l'istruzione; ma obiettivi e metodi finivano, nel discorso dell'igiene, per fondersi. Se lo stato reclamava cittadini sani dal punto di vista intellettuale, morale e fisico, l'assunto dell'igiene che non poteva esservi intelletto vivo, sviluppo dell'intelligenza, senso della morale in un individuo malato, spostava l'asse dell'educazione e dell'istruzione a tutto vantaggio dell'igiene: si viene così a configurare una vera e propria "igiene pedagogica".

Si assiste infatti in questo periodo, ad una sorta di osmosi fra pedagogisti, educatori, medici, igienisti sia sul piano dei contenuti che su quello del linguaggio. Negli scritti a carattere propriamente pedagogico entrano temi e linguaggio dell'igiene: i germi e le infezioni da cui difendere nella scuola i bambini, non sono solo quelli prodotti dalle varie

malattie che la scuola diffondeva o a sua volta generava, ma anche quelli del vizio, della devianza, dell'immoralità. Numerosi sono poi i medici che rivolgendosi con i loro scritti agli educatori, maestri e maestre, affrontano argomenti pedagogici o didattici, mettendo in discussione, attraverso il tema dell'affaticamento mentale, i modi stessi dell'apprendimento scolastico, schierandosi contro l'insegnamento mnemonico, nozionistico, della "nomenclatura", avulso dalla realtà concreta del bambino (5).

L'igiene scolastica trova il proprio momento istituzionale nei tre Congressi Internazionali che si tengono rispettivamente a Norimberga (1904), Londra (1907), Parigi (1910) (6). Lo scopo di questi Congressi è quello di formalizzare una serie di richieste, già presenti daltronde a livello di dibattito, all'interno della classe medica, a partire dagli anni '80, volte a promuovere l'istituzione di tutta una serie di "saggi ordinamenti scolastici subordinati a precetti razionali dell'igiene" (A. Iellersitz). L'ampia partecipazione di medici e padagogisti a questi congressi conferma l'esigenza, ormai consolidata, di un patto di alleanza e di procedure concordi destinate ad avviare, attraverso la scuola, un importante lavoro di informazione e controllo, ma soprattutto di sanamento civile e sociale. Quest'opera di bonifica umana, come viene definita, sottolinea ancora una volta l'imprescindibile legame tra igiene e moralità, valido soprattutto per il ceto popolare.

In tale ottica i Congressi affrontano nelle sedute plenarie i temi generali dell'igiene scolastica, dando ampio spazio all'illustrazione di istituti modello, con particolare riferimento alla progettazione degli edifici dal punto di vista igienico (luminosità, aereazione, dimensione dell'aula, arredamento scolastico, servizi igienici, ecc.), per sottolinearne non solo gli aspetti sanitari, ma anche e soprattutto quelli educativi.

Tra le sezioni specifiche, il tema che raccoglie un ampio numero di adesioni e per la novità dell'argomento e per il diretto coinvolgimento di medici e pedagogisti, è quello relativo all'Istruzione. Il tema dell' istruzione

viene affrontato in un duplice senso: da un lato si sottolinea la necessità di un'istruzione igienica da impartire agli insegnanti ad opera dei medici e agli scolari ad opera degli stessi insegnanti, chiedendo sia che la materia Igiene venisse inserita nel normale curriculum scolastico, affiancata in principio a materie affini quali, ad esempio, la storia naturale, sia che il maestro, già nella scuola popolare, si facesse carico della diffusione di precetti elementari di igiene individuale, consapevole che per molti la scuola popolare rappresentava l'ultima occasione di informazione e controllo (7).

Dall'altro lato, la sezione Istruzione affronta tutta una serie di tematiche che, esorbitando da interessi specificatamente igienico-sanitari, sono destinate a incidere in maniera significativa sulla gestione e organizzazione didattica della scuola stessa. In particolare, il tema dell'affaticamento mentale, già presente nella letteratura psicopedagogica del tempo (8), consente alla classe medica di entrare per la prima volta in ambiti pedagogico-didattici, autorizzandola a discuterne orari, programmi, organizzazione delle materie, ecc. Se nel I Congresso si pone l'accento sull'opportunità di adattare i singoli programmi alle capacità psicofisiche dei diversi allievi, affermando la necessità di un insegnamento individualizzato, che comporterà come logica conseguenza la richiesta dell'istituzione di classi speciali per gli alunni più deboli, nel II Congresso un'intera sezione viene dedicata a "The physiology and psychology of educational methods and work". In questa sezione, ove vengono ampiamente dibattuti strumenti e metodi circa la valutazione e misurazione dell'affaticamento scolastico, vengono contemporaneamente affrontati temi di carattere specificatamente didattico, relativi in particolare all'insegnamento della scrittura e della lettura, valutati secondo principi igienico-sanitari (dimensione ideale delle lettere nel libro di testo, distanza ottimale tra le parole, lunghezza delle righe, preferenza per la scrittura diritta rispetto a quella obliqua allora in voga, ecc.).

Alla luce di tali interventi, il II Congresso ribadisce la necessità dell'ispezione medica nella scuola, non tanto e non solo in termini di controllo igienico sanitario (edifici, arredi, malattie infettive), ma soprattutto in vista dell'opportunità del controllo globale dello sviluppo psico-fisico dell'allievo. Già nel 1880, De Giaxa aveva proposto, per l'Italia, l'istituzione del medico scolastico, presente ormai da tempo in numerosi paesi europei (Olanda 1865, Inghilterra 1870, Russia 1871, Belgio 1878, Francia 1879) con compiti ispettivi in rapporto all'edificio, agli arredi, allo scolaro e alla stessa istruzione. In particolare per l'istruzione, il De Giaxa sosteneva che il medico scolastico avrebbe dovuto "provvedere assieme al direttore ed eventualmente d'accordo anche coi precettori alla regolazione del piano di istruzione per l'anno scolastico", ispezionando l'orario, le materie insegnate, i libri , la ginnastica, ecc. (9). Queste stesse funzioni vengono riprese e precisate nelle numerose relazioni sull'argomento presentate al Congresso. Inoltre, richiamando l'opportunità di un metodo d'osservazione comune, si propone l'adozione di una cartella standardizzata per ogni allievo, contenente l'anamnesi familiare, l'esame antropometrico, l'esame fisiologico con particolare attenzione alla vista e all'udito, nonchè l'esame organo-anatomico di stampo prettamente medico. Questa Carta biografica compilata dal medico, avrebbe dovuto accompagnare l'allievo durante l'intero corso degli studi, rivelandosi utile strumento nelle mani dello stesso insegnante, opportunamente istruito in materia igienico-sanitaria. Il II Congresso sancisce quindi ufficialmente l'ingresso del medico nella scuola, definendone le mansioni non solo in termini di controllo igienico ma anche didattico. Ciononostante nel III Congresso è possibile cogliere, da certi interventi, alcune perplessità, a volte una reale preoccuapazione per l'eccessiva ingerenza del medico scolastico nel processo educativo, che si traducono concretamente in una serie di raccomandazioni, di precisazioni, destinate inevitabilmente a ridimensionarne la funzione, richiamandolo ad occuparsi esclusiva

mente di "informazione igienica e di profilassi delle malattie", sempre in collaborazione con l'insegnante.

Un segno tangibile di questo dibattito è rappresentato, ad esempio, dalla proposta di sostituire la complessa e articolata "Carta biografica" (comprendente voci estremamente interessanti, quale quella relativa alla voce Punizioni) con una ben più modesta "Cedola sanitaria" limitata alla raccolta dei soli dati fisiologici e antropometrici dell'alunno.

Sono gli stessi anni in cui un autorevole pedagogista come il Fornelli criticava l'intrusione di altre discipline nel processo educativo.

Sottolineando l'opportunità di una distinzione e autonomia della pedagogia dalla fisiologia, igiene, psicologia, sociologia, discipline che avrebbero dovuto concorrere alla comprensione del bambino "ma non a intervenire sullo sviluppo educativo", accusava la medicina di invadere un campo non suo: "che per esempio l'antropologo senta al pari dello storico e del sociologo grande tendenza a trarre la pedagogia dalla loro parte fino quasia volerla assimilare ed incorporare alla loro disciplina per principi, pel metodo e per lo spirito scientifico, è cosa che s'intende senza molto sforzo. Con pari facilità non s'intende la stessa tendenza per parte del fisiologo, dell'igienista e soprattutto del medico. Eppure l'invasione medica ed anzi di qualche specialità medica nella pedagogia è quella che più si avvera in questi ultimi anni ..." (10).

Il declino di una igiene pedagogica andrà del resto, con l'inoltrarsi del Novecento, di pari passo con il progressivo definirsi della pedagogia e con la nascita e l'affermarsi di nuove discipline, come la psicologia, all'interno della quale verranno ripresi e discussi numerosi temi che alla fine dell' 800 erano stati fatti propri dall'igiene scolastica.

NOTE:

1. A. Celli, L'insegnamento dell'igiene nelle Università. Prolusione al corso dell'anno scolastico 1899-1900, Roma 1899.
   Più in generale, per gli aspetti storici dell'igiene, si veda C. Pogliano, L'utopia igienista 1870-1920, in Storia d'Italia, Annali 7, Torino, Einaudi 1984.

2. Vincenzo De Giaxa fu protofisico nella città di Trieste che lasciò nel 1887 per ricoprire la cattedra di igiene prima a Pisa quindi a Napoli. Scrisse numerosi testi di igiene tra cui Igiene della scuola, U. Hoepli, Milano 1880.
3. Tina Tomasi, Da Matteucci a Corradini. Le inchieste sulla scuola popolare nell'età liberale, in Problemi e momenti di storia della scuola e dell'educazione, CIRSE, Atti del I Convegno nazionale, Parma 23-24 ottobre 1981.
   G. Genovesi, C. La Caita (a cura di), Istruzione popolare nell'Italia liberale, Milano, Angeli 1983.
4. V. De Giaxa, Igiene della scuola, Milano 1880, pag. 3.
5. A titolo esemplificativo riportiamo una breve citazione tratta da G. Berti, Pei maestri e per le maestre, Consigli di un medico, in V. Tedeschi, Raccolta di scritti di medicina per colti e profani, Trieste, 1892 "... Non è la cattedra che giovi a questi figliuoletti, è il conversare con loro. Guardatevi però dall'abusare dell'astratto favellando con bambini piccoli ... Io vi prego ... di usare abilmente nello spiegare ai bambini le cose anche il dialetto ... Imparare a pappagallo certe favole, certe poesie, certe cantate non è altro vantaggio che per le maestre che vogliono farsi belle delle congratulazioni e degli applausi nei teatrali esperimenti pubblici". pagg. 76-77.
6. A. Iellersitz, Relazione e commenti sul primo congresso internazionale di igiene scolastica, Trieste 1904; 2nd International Congress on school hygiene, London 1907 (Atti); A. Iellersitz, Relazione sul III Congresso internazionale di igiene scolastica, Trieste 1911.
7. Nozioni di igiene sono introdotte per la scuola elementare nel 1888 nell'ambito dell'insegnamento di Fisica e storia naturale nelle classi V, nei programmi del 1905 compare l'insegnamento di Igiene per le classi V e VI della scuola maschile e femminile.
   Nei programmi per le Scuole magistrali cenni di igiene vengono forniti all'interno della Fisica e scienze naturali, nel mentre il R.D. 29 gennaio 1905 n. 43 impone di impartire l'insegnamento dell'Igiene solo in alcune scuole maschili.
8. Si vedano in particolare gli articoli di G. Bellei: La stanchezza mentale nei fanciulli delle pubbliche scuole, 1902; Circa i metodi per esaminare la stanchezza dei fanciulli delle pubbliche scuole, 1906, Ulteriore contributo allo studio della fatica mentale in bambini delle pubbliche scuole, 1906, comparsi su "Rivista di psicologia applicata alla pedagogia e alla psicopatologia", diretta da C. Ferrari.
9. V. De Giaxa, op. cit., pag. 312.
10. N. Fornelli, Pel concetto di pedagogia, in "Rivista pedagogica", settembre-ottobre 1908.

SUMMARY

Compulsory school becomes in the late 19th and beginning of 20th century a primary centre of interest for what concerns hygiene. It has the scope to study and to prevent a whole set of pathologies else induced by the school itself due, for instance, to the unhealthyness of school buildings or that could be gradually overcome like infectious deseases. School is important to the hygiene for the purpose of shaping future sound subjects both bodily and mentally and, as a major consequence, creating morally sound citizens, as the social community justly demanded.

Topics prevalent to moral and ethical behaviour are then tightly woven to those proper to hygiene and medecine. This intermixing is paticulary manifest when hygiene enters in the school and purposes to provide pedagogical science with criteria and parameters, that it should use in defining educational methods and work. It defines itself as school hygiene or, even more strictly, as applied hygiene for the educational processes (pedagogical hygiene). It is possible to study its gradually extending application and pertinence in the field of education through the reports given at the 1st International Congress (Nuremberg 1904) and 2nd International Congress (London 1907) on school hygiene. Very significant is the outcome of the proposal to institute Medical inspections in the school, with the purpose of systematic checks on the bodily and mental development of pupils.

The trends to occupy with its competence even wider areas shall have an inversion for school hygiene as soon as pedagogics starts to become conscious of its own independence as a science, and other new branches of different sciences, e.g. psychology applied to pedagogics, develop.

Already the 3rd International Congress on school hygiene (Paris 1910) was the chance for a reflection upon the role and task of school hygiene and lays the bases for a more precise and limited intervention of the physician or the medical officer in the school.

L'ESTENSIONE DELL'OBBLIGO SCOLASTICO FINO A QUATTORDICI ANNI, IN ITALIA, IN RAPPORTO AGLI EFFETTI SUI CONTENUTI E SUI METODI

Franco Bochicchio

L'estensione dell'obbligo scolastico fino a 14 anni, in Italia, si realizza, almeno sul piano formale, solo nel 1962, con l'istituzione di una scuola media unica per tutti.

Questa scuola dal punto di vista pedagogico e sociale trae la sua origine dalla precedente scuola elementare obbligatoria e quindi ha come obiettivo fondamentale l'innalzamento del livello culturale e sociale di base di tutti i cittadini, in risposta non solo ai bisogni del progresso sociale ma anche a quelli dello sviluppo di ciascuno e di tutti gli individui a cui è indirizzata, secondo le istanze di una società democratica. Invece dal punto di vista politico istituzionale trae la sua origine dalle preesistenti scuole dagli 11 ai 14 anni che, nel nostro sistema scolastico, hanno sempre avuto un ruolo centrale come meccanismo di regolazione della domanda di istruzione.

Per analizzare, quindi, correttamente i contenuti e i metodi della nuova scuola media unica bisognerebbe, non solo richiamarsi direttamente alle scuole da cui essa trae effettivamente origine ma anche valutare in che misura la funzione attribuita alle scuole dagli 11 ai 14 anni ha inciso sull'organizzazione degli studi. Non è questa la sede per un'analisi così complessa; ci limiteremo solo a richiamare quegli aspetti che a nostro avviso hanno condizionato l'organizzazione degli studi della nuova scuola media unica obbligatoria.

2. Con la formazione dello Stato unitario, nel 1859, alla scuola viene attribuita la funzione prevalente di regolare l'ascesa sociale dei cittadini attraverso la distribuzione di status e privilegi.

Il principio egualitario di consentire a tutti i cittadini il diritto all'istruzione, intrinseco alle ideologie borghesi del XIX secolo, viene di fatto limitato alla scuola primaria considerata come il livello massimo di istruzione per tutti per l'acquisizione degli strumenti di base del sapere (leggere, scrivere, e far di conto) e per la realizzazione di un primo processo di

socializzazione ai valori del nuovo Stato. Questa scuola, che fino al secondo dopoguerra rimarrà l'unico livello di formazione di base, farà fatica a decollare: affidata alla istituzione e alla gestione dei Comuni e con un corso obbligatorio molto breve (due anni) raggiungerà il suo assetto istituzionale e organizzativo solo dopo cinquant'anni (1911), quando la sua gestione verrà avocata dallo Stato e verrà definita attraverso un corso obbligatorio quinquennale (6-11 anni); il suo sviluppo invece, legato ad una società sostanzialmente agricola e con forti squilibri territoriali, sarà lento e graduale e tale che "la piaga dell'analfabetismo" costituirà ancora un problema per la classe dirigente del secondo dopoguerra; dal punto di vista educativo, essendo considerata scuola terminale e insieme preparatoria al proseguimento degli studi, oscillerà fra la funzione, considerata prevalente, di fornire gli strumenti di base del sapere e la formazione di base del cittadino.

Si spiega così come il processo di scolarizzazione sollecitato dal basso, inteso come spinta favorevole ad una definizione dell'organizzazione degli studi più rispondente alle esigenze sociali ed educative, abbia inciso debolmente sull'assetto della scuola media unica, rispetto alla tradizione scolastica delle corrispondenti scuole dagli 11 ai 14 anni.

L'ordinamento scolastico successivo alla scuola primaria obbligatoria comprendeva: un Ginnasio-Liceo, considerato come la struttura portante della scuola secondaria, perchè canale privilegiato per l'accesso all'Università, e quindi sede per la formazione della classe dirigente; un'istruzione tecnica (scuola tecnica e istituto tecnico) per la formazione tecnico-professionale dei quadri intermedi dell'apparato produttivo e amministrativo; una scuola normale per la formazione dei maestri; un'istruzione professionale, che per il suo carattere pratico veniva esclusa dalla scuola secondaria e collegata al mondo del lavoro.

Questa organizzazione trova la sua legittimazione nella "ideologia delle doti", in virtù della quale gli individui vengono distinti in rapporto a pretese loro astratte capacità e attitudini naturali, che giustificano l'accesso a studi superiori di formazione generale o scientifici, o tecnici, o

professionali, quando non legittimano l'espulsione precoce dalla scuola. Strettamente connesso a questo principio di discriminazione sociale è il concetto della neutralità del "sapere" che, attraverso la negazione del rapporto diretto che intercorre fra il mondo della cultura e il mondo della produzione, legittima la divisione sociale del lavoro: un sapere che assume come unica sede di elaborazione l' Università e che per esplicarsi nella sua interezza ha bisogno di intelligenze dotate di capacità formali, di poteri di concettualizzazione e di generalizzazione. Questa concezione del sapere giustificherà una scuola secondaria che da un lato assume la cultura classica come l'unica in grado di fornire, attraverso gli studi umanistici e letterari, lo sviluppo di un'intelligenza logico-dialettica, a scapito della cultura scientifico-tecnica, considerata solo per i suoi risultati empirici e per le sue implicazioni pratiche e non per le sue possibilità di sviluppare capacità speculative e di conoscenza e comprensione del "reale" e, dall'altro introduce una gerarchia fra i diversi ordini di scuola, che, a partire dall'Università, vengono ad essa subordinati in funzione strumentale.

Anche l'organizzazione degli studi rifletterà queste scelte. Nel ginnasio-liceo, scuola formativa per eccellenza, il curriculum si fonda sullo studio dell'Italiano, del Latino e del Greco, le uniche discipline in grado, si ritiene, di sviluppare capacità logiche e dialettiche, di far acquisire padronanza della lingua colta, di far conoscere e tramandare la cultura e i valori del passato, intesi come l'espressione più alta della civiltà. Lo studio della storia (integrato da quello della filosofia nel liceo) doveva completare questa formazione, attraverso l'omogeneizzazione dei modelli e dei valori acquisiti con lo studio del mondo classico, in funzione del vivere sociale: abituare gli allievi "per la conoscenza del passato alla comprensione della società presente del cui bene vogliono diventare primari operatori o nelle professioni liberali o negli uffizi governativi". Anche la matematica doveva essere intesa "come un mezzo di cultura intellettuale, come una ginnastica del pensiero, diretta a svolgere le facoltà del raziocinio". I programmi della scuola tecnica e dell'istituto tecnico erano funzionali al ruolo e-

secutivo attribuito alle due scuole. Una cultura generale ridotta e semplifi cata rispetto a quella del ginnasio-liceo (senza latino e greco) e soprattut to finalizzata a scopi professionali: l'italiano, a parte lo studio grammati cale comune a tutte le scuole, doveva avere finalità di uso pratico per la professione; la lingua straniera intesa come strumento di comunicazione di questioni commerciali e tecniche. Alla storia veniva affidata la funzione di interiorizzazione dei valori della classe dirigente; il suo studio doveva "soc correre in modo pratico ad una decente istruzione politica", e doveva avveni re privilegiando "quei fatti che servissero ad ispirare sentimenti d'onestà, d'amore alla famiglia, ai propri simili, al lavoro, alla patria ed ossequen-za alle sue leggi". La matematica, le scienze fisiche e naturali, il disegno avevano una funzione solo pratica e propedeutica allo studio delle discipli-ne professionali caratterizzanti i diversi indirizzi dell'istruzione tecnica e professionale. Interna a questa gerarchia, alle scuole "mediane"(perchè collocate fra la scuola elementare e la scuola secondaria superiore), corri-spondenti alla fascia dagli 11 ai 14 anni, veniva demandato da un lato il com pito di regolare la domanda di istruzione proveniente dal basso attraverso la istituzione, appunto, di diversi tipi di scuola aventi funzione di "dirot tamento" rispetto al ginnasio-liceo, o di "scarico" rispetto al proseguimen-to degli studi e dall'altro il compito di fornire una formazione "propedeuti ca" al proseguimento degli studi o all'immissione nel mondo del lavoro.

Questa doppia funzione, per quanto abbia subito, nel tempo, delle varia zioni in rapporto ad esigenze diverse, rimarrà pressochè costante fino alla istituzione della scuola media unica. Si passerà da un sistema scolastico re lativamente aperto previsto dalla legge Casati (esistevano due scuole: il gin nasio e la scuola tecnica) a quello particolarmente chiuso previsto dalla leg ge Gentile (verrano istituite cinque scuole di cui due di "scarico"), per giungere alle due scuole (media, con il latino, e di avviamento al lavoro) funzionanti all'inizio degli anni quaranta, a seguito dell'attuazione par-ziale della Carta della scuola di Bottai.

Con la riforma Gentile la gerarchia fra i diversi tipi di scuole e la

funzione propedeutica delle scuole intermedie subiranno una accentuazione pesante, i cui effetti si ripercuoteranno a lungo sulla scuola italiana, anche se l'organizzazione degli studi non subirà modifiche vistose: furono unificati alcuni insegnamenti (storia e filosofia, matematica e fisica) altri separati (la geografia non più abbinata con la storia ma con le scienze naturali e con la chimica), l'insegnamento del latino venne esteso a tutte le scuole superiori, venne rivalutato l'insegnamento della filosofia che con l'insegnamento della storia accentuano la loro funzione ideologica. Le modifiche sostanziali avverranno rispetto alla ridefinizione dei contenuti e rispetto ai metodi di insegnamento, fondamentalmente basati, questi ultimi, sulla centralità dell'insegnante. Gentile da un lato conservava la prassi didattica tradizionale per l'apprendimento degli aspetti strumentali e elementari interni alle singole discipline per garantirsi una continuità con il passato e dallo altro unificava gli obiettivi e i contenuti ideologici delle singole discipline nell'ambito della concezione nel mondo propria del pensiero idealistico, accentuava la subordinazione dei vari gradi scolastici dell'Università: la scuola elementare doveva favorire l'acquisizione degli strumenti di base per tutti; la scuola secondaria inferiore se non era fine a se stessa doveva sviluppare degli strumenti di base necessari al proseguimento degli studi nelle scuole secondarie superiori; la scuola secondaria superiore doveva far acquisire la mentalità necessaria per avvicinarsi alla cultura che ha come sede propria l'università. Il tutto attraverso una rivalutazione del ginnasio - liceo e una sottovalutazione della cultura scientifica e tecnica secondo il modello tipico della concezione idealistica.

3. Il principio dell'estensione dell'obbligo scolastico fino a 14 anni viene sancito ufficialmente con la promulgazione della Costituzione Repubblicana nel 1948. Ma se con la Carta costituzionale il problema dell'obbligo scolastico compie un deciso passo in avanti, rispetto all'affermazione di principio contenuta nella riforma Gentile del 1923, non chiarisce attraverso quale tipo di scuola si sarebbe dovuto risolvere. La ragione di questa ambiguità è da ricercarsi nella mancata elaborazione da parte della clas

se dirigente, nel suo complesso, di un progetto di cambiamento del sistema scolastico, in rapporto alle esigenze di una società democratica che dopo il ventennio fascista è richiesta da profonde modificazioni politico-sociali. In particolare è mancata la consapevolezza dell'incidenza dei fattori economici e sociali sulle scelte scolastiche delle famiglie e quindi della funzione di discriminazione sociale della permanenza di più scuole di diverso indirizzo per la stessa classe di età. Non si prende atto delle conseguenze negative, sul livello di aspirazione degli allievi, dell'esistenza di scuole a più indirizzi, ossia del fatto che le differenziazioni precoci spingono gli allievi a far progetti di immediata utilizzazione degli studi con un conseguente esclusivo atteggiamento "motivazionale" verso ciò che è utile e pratico ai fini del lavoro. Le stesse forze progressiste, che con maggiore impegno si batterono per una riorganizzazione della scuola in senso laico e democratico, non avendo avuto un proprio progetto di cambiamento, si riferirono alle elaborazioni del periodo prefascista, maturate in condizioni economiche, sociali e culturali completamente diverse. Il limite più evidente di questa impostazione si evidenzia proprio nella difesa della formazione classica e quindi dallo studio del latino nella scuola media che dimostra come non riuscisse a cogliere, al di là del valore intrinseco dello studio delle lingue classiche, la funzione discriminante e selettiva propria dello studio del latino nel sistema scolastico italiano.

In attesa che maturino le condizioni politiche a favore di una scuola media unica, l'Italia repubblicana eredita quindi dal Fascismo e conserva fino al 1962, con l'aggiunta di una post-elementare, due scuole: la scuola media "unica" di Bottai con il latino, che riproponeva la stessa impostazione delle prime tre classi del ginnasio come è chiaro ove si pensi che ad essa si poteva accedere con un esame di ammissione e che costituiva l'unica scuola che consentisse l'accesso alla scuola secondaria superiore; una scuola di avviamento, a più indirizzi, in funzione pre-professionale e che consentiva l'accesso alla scuola tecnica. Per quanto, in attesa di una modifica istituzionale, si sia tentato di attribuire alla scuola media e alla scuola di avviamento, attraver

so piccoli ritocchi ai programmi e circolari interpretative degli stessi, una funzione più rispondente alle esigenze di una scuola dell'obbligo, secondo il dettato costituzionale, il loro impianto di fondo non subirà modifiche sostanziali. Ma, mentre gli allievi della scuola media risolveranno il problema della formazione generale nelle scuole successive e in modo più ampio e articolato, quelli delle scuole di avviamento non andranno al di là del proseguimento e dell'ampliamento degli strumenti di base previsti per la scuola elementare. Nella scuola media, come si legge nella premessa ai programmi, scopo fondamentale è lo studio del latino come strumento di organizzazione della mente. Lo stesso studio della lingua italiana, per quanto prevedesse l'uso di un'antologia di Autori per educare alla lettura e per avvicinare gli allievi ai classici, rimaneva ancorato allo studio analitico della grammatica e dell'analisi logica in funzione dello studio del latino. L'insegnamento della matematica, non affiancato dallo studio delle scienze, e l'insegnamento della lingua straniera (prevista solo dalla 2° classe), anche per il numero di ore limitate ad esse assegnato, non costituiranno quell'apertura alla cultura contemporanea tanto auspicata.

La scuola di avviamento, al contrario si basava su un orario scolastico dedicato per due terzi alle materie professionali e alle esercitazioni pratiche, mentre gli insegnamenti culturali (senza latino) erano costituiti da una lingua italiana che doveva "addestrare" gli allievi ad un uso "semplice" della lingua nazionale, da un insegnamento della storia che doveva avere un carattere narrativo e aneddotico, e da un insegnamento della geografia con carattere intuitivo e descrittivo e da un insegnamento della matematica con carattere pratico e per uso quotidiano.

Anche dal punto di vista metodologico i tentativi tendenti a motivare i processi di apprendimento, a sviluppare la personalità degli allievi e a dare una unità organica al sapere acquisito, secondo le indicazioni emergenti dalla problematica educativa della scuola attiva, che in quegli anni costituiva la base del rinnovamento pedagogico italiano, dopo la chiusura idealistica precedente, non sembra abbiano sortito gli effetti sperati se, all'inizio degli

anni sessanta, le stesse fonti ministeriali dovevano constatare che nella scuola media l'insegnamento del latino non si discostava dai metodi praticati alla fine dell'ottocento e che la scuola di avviamento soffriva di "ibridismo strutturale" perchè nata per scopi pre-professionali continuava ad essere utilizzata come scuola di completamento dell'obbligo.

4. Dopo il tentativo del Ministro Gonella, nel 1951, di istituire tre tipi di scuola dagli 11 ai 14 anni (classica, tecnica e normale), l'occasione per una ripresa del dibattito sulla riforma della scuola media venne fornita, nel 1955, dal Ministro Ermini che, approfittando della promulgazione dei nuovi programmi per la scuola elementare, tentò di istituzionalizzare la post-elementare come scuola di proseguimento dell'obbligo. La reazione delle forze di sinistra e progressiste fu anche l'occasione per elaborare un progetto di cambiamento della scuola media obbligatoria. In un importante convegno organizzato dalla rivista "Scuola e città", nel 1956, con motivazioni socio-politiche e psico-pedagogiche, venne affermata l'esigenza di una scuola dell'obbligo comune a tutti con le seguenti argomentazioni:

1. Attraverso la denuncia della funzione discriminante e classista contenuta nella "ideologia delle doti" per giustificare l'esistenza di più scuole per la stessa classe di età si esprime l'esigenza di una scuola media a struttura unica per tutti;
2. Rifiutando la funzione "propedeutica" della scuola dagli 11 ai 14 anni viene affermata l'esigenza, richiamandosi alla tematica pedagogica progressista di ispirazione deweyana, di uno sviluppo completo e organico della personalità dell'allievo, da valutare come soggetto educativo, a partire dalla prima infanzia;
3. Criticando il modello di "sapere" che informa i programmi scolastici operanti si propone una ridefinizione dei contenuti educativi, da orientare verso la formulazione di un cittadino adeguato alle istanze di una società moderna e democratica.

Ma bisognerà attendere il 1959 perchè maturino le condizioni economiche, sociali, politiche e istituzionali per la riforma della scuola media: la do-

manda di istruzione, a partire dal 1955, segna un considerevole aumento e le forze di sinistra non solo recepiscono la spinta proveniente dalle classi sociali subalterne per un innalzamento del livello culturale di base, ma maturano conseguentemente anche una proposta di cambiamento. Si è infatti verificato un assorbimento della forza lavoro laureata che attenua le reistenze che avevano fatto sempre usare le scuole dagli 11 ai 14 anni come meccanismo di contenimento alla spinta di proseguimento degli studi, ora si pronostica anzi una espansione occupazionale per i diplomati e i laureati; le stesse forze industriali, dopo lo sviluppo economico degli anni '50 e in fase di riorganizzazione aziendale colgono l'importanza di un più alto livello di scolarizzazione ai fini di una più rapida riqualificazione della manodopera. Anche il fronte degli insegnanti già contrario alla unificazione della scuola, si divide, rendendo quindi meno compatta l'opposizione.

Non è questa la sede per ripercorrere le tappe che caratterizzarono il dibattito, dentro e fuori il Parlamento, fino al 1962. Con la presentazione del disegno di legge del P.C.I. a firma Donini-Luporini, nel gennaio del 1959 e la presentazione del secondo progetto di legge del Ministro Medici, nel gennaio del 1960, i termini del dibattito si focalizzeranno su due tesi: scuola media unica per tutti e senza latino e scuola media unitaria con opzioni vincolanti per il proseguimento degli studi.

Il disegno di legge Donini-Luporini proponeva una scuola media rigorosamente unica dai 6 ai 14 anni per la formazione unitaria di tutti i cittadini, e quindi senza latino ed opzioni che avrebbero riproposto surrettiziamente la discriminazione precedente. L'asse educativo, per eliminare l'astrattezza e la retorica dei vecchi contenuti,doveva essere basato sullo "studio della storia degli uomini e del mondo della natura", doveva fondarsi sul recupero dei valori storici propri di una società democratica. La scuola,per realizzare un obbligo effettivo, doveva fornire degli strumenti adeguati alle esigenze d'integrazione e di sviluppo delle classi sociali subalterne, istituendo un "dopo scuola" obbligatorio e le "classi di recupero" come occasione di aiuto e di stimolo di sviluppo per ogni alunno.

Il secondo disegno di legge Medici, riformulato dopo il rifiuto generalizzato del primo, proponeva una scuola unitaria con opzioni determinanti al fine del proseguimento degli studi. Le materie opzionali erano: latino, applicazioni tecniche e osservazioni scientifiche, esercitazioni artistiche;questa scelta veniva giustificata con la fondamentale funzione "orientatrice" rispetto alle scelte successive. I limiti contenuti nel disegno di legge, più preoccupato a conservare la vecchia impostazione che a fornire un adeguato assetto culturale e educativo alla scuola, furono implicitamente riconosciuti dal Ministro Bosco che si affrettò ad emendare il progetto. Prima di tutto ridefinendo il gruppo di discipline comuni a tutti e riducendo le opzioni a due (latino e applicazioni tecniche). Si riconosce quindi l'esigenza di un quadro generale di riferimento psicologico e pedagogico e, soprattutto, si avvia una sperimentazione di "scuola media unificata" per una verifica del progetto di riforma.

Con la partecipazione indiretta del P.S.I. al Governo maturano anche le condizioni politico-parlamentari e il 31 dicembre 1962, dopo un lungo e travagliato iter parlamentare,si conclude la vicenda della istituzione di una scuola media unica obbligatoria che sul piano formale è, forse, la modifica di struttura del sistema scolastico più importante dalla prima legge organica del 1859.

5. La nuova legge, frutto di un compromesso politico, ha il suo punto di forza nell'aver eliminato la discriminazione palese derivante dall'esistenza di più scuole per la stessa classe di età e nell'aver affermato il principio che la scuola media va intesa come scuola di completamento dell'obbligo e che quindi mira fondamentalmente ad innalzare il livello culturale di base di tutti i cittadini di una società moderna e democratica. Anche la scelta degli insegnamenti fondamentali risulta conseguente a questi obiettivi: Italiano, Storia ed Educazione civica, Geografia, Lingua straniera, Matematica, Osservazioni ed elementi di scienze naturali, Educazione artistica ed Educazione fisica. Si introducono, invece, le applicazioni tecniche e l'educazione musicale come obbligatorie in prima e facoltative in seconda e terza e il latino in seconda

inserito nel programma di studio della lingua italiana, e come disciplina autonoma e obbligatoria in terza per chi intende proseguire gli studi superiori. Anche l'esigenza di istituire nuove strutture, più rispondenti all'obiettivo di rendere effettivo l'obbligo per tutti, attraverso un'azione di sostegno e di integrazione, venne risolto con un compromesso: si istituirono le classi di aggiornamento per i ragazzi portatori di handicaps e invece non fu istituito il "doposcuola" obbligatorio. Ma la chiusura verso le spinte di rinnovamento culturale e pedagogico si manifestarono con maggiore evidenza nella stesura dei programmi e nelle indicazioni sui metodi di insegnamento, nel tentativo di contemperare la vecchia impostazione e le nuove esigenze, e soprattutto nel tentare di conservare la centralità della funzione rappresentata dall'insegnamento del latino rispetto alle nuove discipline. La premessa generale ai programmi ne è un esempio. Si sottolinea l'importanza del mondo di esperienza del bambino e quindi l'importanza del riferimento ai fatti e ai fenomeni della realtà come momento unificante della conoscenza per affermare subito dopo l'importanza dello studio autonomo e sistematico delle discipline, secondo la tradizione, al fine del proseguimento degli studi. La formazione sociale del cittadino, che avrebbe dovuto esplicarsi attraverso una pratica al vivere civile, in una realtà scolastica rinnovata, viene risolta con lo studio teorico dell'Educazione civica, basato sulla conoscenza della Costituzione Italiana. Si indicano nuove metodologie didattiche, riecheggiando i principi della scuola attiva, per poi affermare l'autonomia e l'inventiva didattica degli insegnanti e ciò perchè si ritiene che lo Stato non può indicare una propria metodologia senza ledere la libertà dell'insegnante.

I contenuti delle singole discipline, se si escludono quelle di nuova istituzione, ripropongono nella sostanza quelli della precedente scuola media. Un'analisi dettagliata richiederebbe uno spazio ben più ampio di quello a disposizione. Il primo rilievo di tipo generale è il contrasto fra gli obiettivi della scuola e gli obiettivi specifici di ciascuna disciplina: non solo manca un accordo fra i due momenti ma non vengono fornite indicazioni sui modi specifici di valutazione.

In particolare per la lingua italiana l'apertura alla narrativa moderna, intesa come fatto culturale e non solo estetico, viene immediatamente controbilanciata dallo studio dei classici, inteso come patrimonio culturale acquisito e indiscusso anche come modello di valori e di civiltà, come modello di lingua da imitare. L'apprendimento della lingua ha ancora il suo fondamento nello studio della grammatica che, dopo un'indicazione di approccio d'insieme si formalizza secondo la vecchia concezione normativa e analitica perchè staccata dal contesto linguistico da cui deriva e soprattutto perchè considerata, principalmente, in vista dello studio della grammatica latina. La lingua straniera è ancora concepita come uno strumento per tradurre e quindi basata su un apprendimento grammaticale e non come strumento comunicativo e quindi basata sulla lingua parlata. L'insegnamento della storia, dopo alcune affermazioni di carattere generale, tendenti a valutare l'importanza dell'ambiente circostante come fattore motivazionale e la psicologia del preadolescente come modalità di approccio al suo studio, si definisce secondo il tradizionale schema di periodizzazione (dalla preistoria ai nostri giorni), continuando a prediligere il modello narrativo della storia degli eroi, della diplomazia, delle guerre. La matematica e le scienze a cui vengono dedicate 5/6 ore rispetto alle 13/14 ore del gruppo letterario, non vanno al di là di una concezione di studio di tipo intuitivo e descrittivo, vanificando uno degli obiettivi innovativi: la formazione di una mentalità scientifica. Fanno da contorno l'educazione artistica e l'educazione musicale che, previste per un'ora alla settimana, risultano poco significanti rispetto all'obiettivo volto ad attivare una gamma di insegnamenti per consentire lo sviluppo integrale e completo della personalità. Le applicazioni tecniche, in alternativa al latino, condizionante per l'iscrizione alla scuola secondaria classica, continueranno a legittimare, attraverso la distinzione fra intelligenza "teorica" e "pratica", la divisione fra lavoro intellettuale e lavoro manuale. Ma mentre l'insegnamento del latino si colloca in continuità con una tradizione didattica e culturale consolidate nel tempo e si inserisce in 2^e 3^in modo organico e basilare nel gruppo delle materie letterarie, le applicazioni tecniche stente -

ranno a trovare una loro collocazione, in quanto per la genericità dei contenuti e dei metodi indicati, oscilleranno fra il proseguimento di obiettivi come una manualità imprecisata e una dimensione tecnica non meglio definita.

In complesso, i contenuti culturali proposti si muovono all'interno di una concezione enciclopedistica del sapere, di cui agli allievi della scuola dell'obbligo si forniscono gli elementi, le classificazioni, le notizie,e sempre nel tentativo di conservare ancora preminenza al modello classico-letterario.

I primi anni di applicazione della legge, a parte tutte le difficoltà logistiche e operative, furono contrassegnati da una forte selezione scolastica proprio di quegli allievi di fasce sociali che per la prima volta avevano avuto accesso alla scuola media.

L'occasione per un'analisi critica della legge e della sua attuazione fu fornita dallo scadere del primo triennio dalla sua promulgazione. In particolare venne rilevata l'incidenza di una mancata politica per lo sviluppo edilizio, sia quantitativo, sia qualitativo, e la mancata politica di aggiornamento degli insegnati, che risultarono del tutto inadeguati ad affrontare i nuovi compiti. Di qui un atteggiamento da parte di essi di difesa del proprio ruolo e quindi di conservazione del proprio modello metodologico di trasmissione educativa, con conseguenti pesanti ripercussioni nella attuazione degli obiettivi indicati dalla legge e quindi anche delle stesse proposte innovative. In particolare, l'immissione di allievi, provenienti da condizioni sociali e culturali diverse, in una stessa realtà-classe, mostra l'assoluta inadeguatezza del modello metodologico di trasmissione del sapere basato sulla sequenza didattica della lezione, interrogazione e voto. La lezione, per i contenuti trasmessi risulta per molti allievi lontana dal loro patrimonio culturale di partenza, dai loro bisogni, dalle loro motivazioni; per la modalità di trasmissione, basata sulla "comunicazione verbale", risulta un "filtro" ossia un ostacolo per molti allievi portatori di un linguaggio "deprivato". Si spiega così come gli insegnanti, in assenza di una preparazione adeguata ai nuovi compiti, assunsero una difesa del loro vecchio modello di scuola, perpe

tuando la funzione di socializzazione-selezione in nome della "ideologia delle "doti" e della difesa della vecchia concezione del "sapere". Anche i nuovi strumenti previsti dalle legge vengono utilizzati a questo fine: l'alternativa fra latino e applicazioni tecniche, prevista al terzo anno di corso, viene surrettizziamente utilizzata sin dal primo anno come criterio di formazione delle classi, ossia dividendo gli allievi sulla base dell'opzione futura, al fine di ricostituire una omogeneità del gruppo classe. Le classi di aggiornamento e le classi differenziali, in assenza di équipes con funzione di depistage, vengono utilizzate per liberarsi di allievi "scomodi".

Così si presentava la situazione della scuola media obbligatoria attraverso le indagini, le inchieste, le prese di posizioni di politici, di esperti, che nello scorcio della fine degli anni sessanta affrontarono il problema dell'attuazione della nuova scuola media.

Attraverso tutte queste inadempienze e disfunzioni emergono alcuni problemi di fondo ancora poco chiariti: prima di tutto quello volto a definire il significato della provenienza sociale rispetto alle finalità della scuola al fine di realizzare una struttura scolastica flessibile, articolata, diversificata, capace di intervenire in modo differenziato sugli allievi in modo da offrire a tutti opportunità educative adeguate ai loro livelli di partenza per conseguire alla fine del ciclo, l'obiettivo di un livello di istruzione e di educazione uguale per tutti. Quindi il problema volto a ridefinire i contenuti culturali anche in rapporto alle esigenze e alle istanze delle classi sociali subalterne in vista di una formazione funzionale ad una società moderna e democratica, ciò che poi esige si consideri la valutazione del rendimento scolastico degli allievi non rispetto ad una astratta ipotesi di bambino ma in relazione alla esigenza di commisurare la validità dell'esperienza scolastica ed educativa rispetto ai compiti e agli obiettivi che la società nel suo complesso attribuisce alla scuola per la formazione del cittadino.

6. A partire dai limiti e dalle critiche sull'attuazione della scuola media e sull'onda della contestazione studentesca che evidenzia la natura di classe della scuola,si va delineando una politica di intervento da parte degli schieramenti più avanzati, tendente a modificare l'istituzione scolastica dal-

l'interno, per renderla più adeguata alle esigenze di una società democratica. La stessa categoria degli insegnanti si divide, si definiscono gli schieramenti, c'è una presa di coscienza più generale sui problemi della scuola da parte del paese nel suo complesso.

Queste prese diposizione e le iniziative ad esse connesse si estrinsecheranno attraverso l'istituzione di doposcuola alternativi, esperienze di rinnovamento dei contenuti, l'introduzione di nuove metodologie didattiche che contribuiranno notevolmente a modificare l'assetto istituzionale della scuola e che si concretizzeranno attraverso una serie di provvedimenti legislativi parziali sfocianti in una modifica della legge istitutiva della scuola media del 1962 e nella promulgazione di nuovi programmi.

In particolare il latino, in alternativa alle applicazioni tecniche, cessa di avere funzione discriminante, con la liberalizzazione degli accessi alla Università di tutti gli istituti superiori quinquennali. La denuncia contro le classi differenziali e le classi di aggiornamento si conclude con l'istituzione delle classi "sperimentali" che prevedono l'inserimento nelle classi normali dei bambini portatori di handicaps; le esperienze di integrazione scolastica vengono assunte ufficialmente ed estese, con modalità di intervento differenziate, attraverso l'istituzione di scuole sperimentali a tempo pieno e l'istituzione di doposcuola collegati con l'attività scolastica normale. Gli insegnanti, attraverso alcune associazioni di categoria (sorte in quegli anni),realizzano una serie di attività di aggiornamento e di esperienze di rinnovamento dei contenuti che riflettono il dibattito culturale più generale in atto nel paese. La messa in discussione dei libri di testo e della didattica "normativa" e "verbalistica" produce l'introduzione di nuovi strumenti e metodi didattici: biblioteche di classe e laboratori, lavori di gruppo e insegnamento individualizzato, metodologia della ricerca e nuovi criteri di valutazione.

Gli interventi legislativi del 1977, più comunemente noti come i "ritocchi" alla scuola media unica del 1962, riflettono proprio queste esperienze.Essi, infatti, aboliscono il latino e rendono obbligatorie le applicazioni tecniche, senza più la distinzione fra maschi e femmine; rendono obbligatoria l'edu

cazione musicale; ridefiniscono l'insieme delle discipline, attraverso una ridistribuzione quantitativa delle ore, per eliminare la precedente gerarchia fra gli insegnamenti; eliminano le classi differenziali e di aggiornamento, generalizzando l'inserimento nelle classi normali dei bambini portatori di handicaps; eliminano gli esami di riparazine e sostituiscono il "voto" con una scheda di valutazione; introducono le attività di recupero e di sostegno; mettono in discussione il principio della classe rigida, introducendo le attività interclasse, sia pure limitate a sole 160 ore.

In linea con questi aspetti di carattere più strutturale sono anche le modifiche intervenute nei contenuti e nei metodi con la promulgazione dei nuovi programmi nel 1979. La Commissione preposta alla stesura dei programmi, anzichè limitarsi alle modifiche parziali richieste dal Ministro,a seguito dei "ritocchi", rivede l'intero programma della scuola media, adeguandolo alle nuove istanze culturali ed educative.

La premessa generale, partendo dal riconoscimento della esistenza di una disuguaglianza di partenza degli alunni di natura socio-culturale e dall'obbligo della Repubblica di rimuovere quegli ostacoli che impediscono la piena realizzazione personale e sociale dei cittadini, formula una serie di proposte conseguenti all'assunto di partenza.

In questa ottica vengono formulate proposte educative e metodologie che, riferendosi alla problematica psicologica, sociologica e pedagogica più recente, utilizzano proprio le esperienze educative più avanzate maturate negli anni precedenti. Anche i contenuti culturali delle singole discipline vengono aggiornati e ridefiniti.

Non è questa la sede per una analisi dei singoli programmi. Un elemento comune emerge con evidenza ed è l'esigenza del superamento del concetto di programma scolastico inteso come cultura "minor" rispetto alla cultura tout-court per adeguare i contenuti delle singole discipline al livello conoscitivo e metodologico raggiunto dalla ricerca scientifica. Si vuole inoltre l'introduzione del principio secondo cui gli obiettivi e i contenuti delle singole discipline non vanno perseguiti autonomamente dai singoli docenti ma inseriti, adat

tati e finalizzati attraverso la programazione educativa, per il raggiungimento degli obiettivi finali stabiliti dalla legge istitutiva della scuola media.

Con questi ultimi provvedimenti trovano risposta molte istanze già presenti nel dibattito che ha preceduto l'istituzione della scuola media del 1962, e che non erano mai state soddisfatte e insieme altre istanze maturate a seguito dell'attuazione della legge. Ma se l'aspetto istituzionale, sia pure con tutti i problemi e gli ostacoli incontrati si può considerare giunto a compimento, il processo di effettivo cambiamento, attraverso il rinnovamento dei contenuti e dei metodi, come si può rilevare da questo breve contributo, risulta molto più lento e tortuoso.

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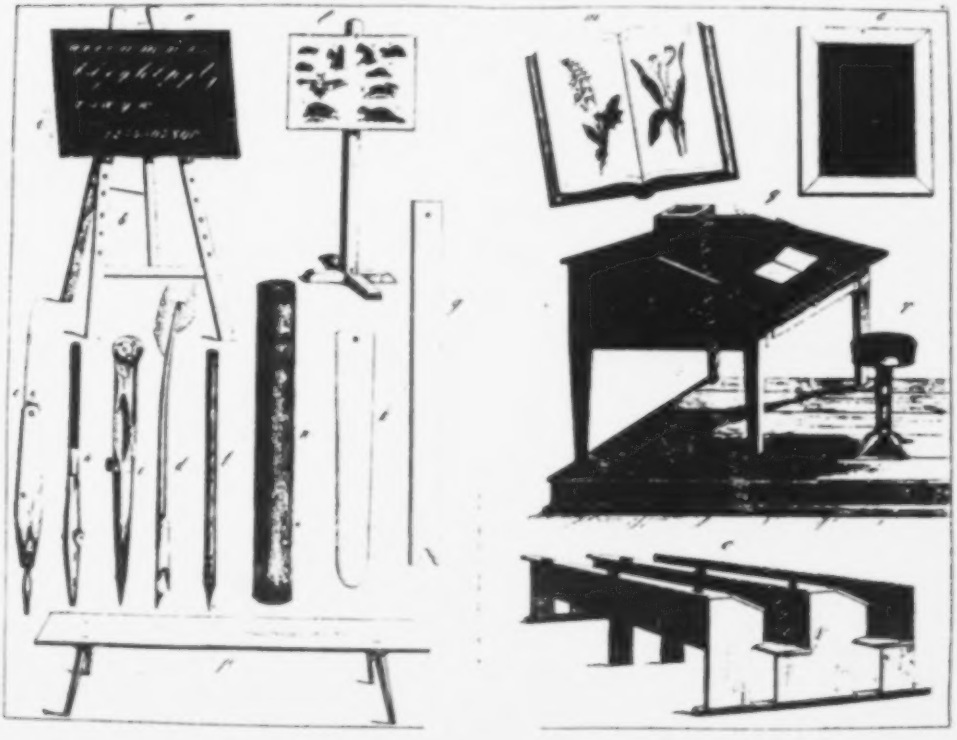
RESUME

En Italie l'extension de l'obligation scolastique jusqu'à l'âge de 14 ans resulte d'une disposition de réforme qui, d'un point de vue institutionnel, pour les modifications apportées au système scolastique, peut-être considerée la plus importante après la loi Casati 1859. Ca parce que l'institution d'une école unique et obligatoire, dans le 1962, a eliminée la manifeste discrimination sociale qui resulte de l'existence de plus écoles pour la même bande de âge. A celles-ci a toujours été attribué le rôle de limiter et dérouler la demande d'instruction qui vient de la basse, et de fournir une "enseignement propédeutique" à la continuation des études et à l'introduction dans le travail. A cause de ces précédents historiques, les contenus et les métodes peinent à ce renouveler et à s'organiser selon les nouveaux objectifs éducatifs. Il faudra attendre le 1980 pour réaliser, par nouveaux programmes, une organisation des études qui mieux convient aux éxigences d'une école réellement pour tous les citoyens et donc plus démocratique.

DOVERI DEI SUDDITI
verso
IL LORO MONARCA
per
ISTRUZIONE ED ESERCIZIO DI LETTURA
NELLA SECONDA CLASSE
nelle
SCUOLE ELEMENTARI
NELLE PROVINCIE VENETE.
VENEZIA 1850

CATECHISMO
DEGLI STATI AUSTRIACI
AD USO
DELLE SCUOLE ELEMENTARI
PRIMA EDIZIONE.
VENEZIA 1850



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PEDAGOGIC MODELING AND CRITERIA FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN SPAIN AT THE BEGINNING OF THE CENTURY

Scholar Construction's Plan of The Forecast National Institute in 1924[1]

Isidoro González Gallego

1923. THE DICTATORSHIP OF GENERAL PRIMO DE RIVERA

In 1922, when Mussolini raises to power in Italy Spain is involved in - uncountable problems. Some, affecting all Europe like the general crisis of liberal democracies, others, specifically spanish, like the bloody war against - Morocco.

Following the path of the italian Dictator, General Primo de Rivera, takes on power on the 15th of September 1923 establishing the Dictatorship. The - valid constitution at the time, from 1876, (the longest in spanish history) was "posponed". Not even a month had past since the establishment of the system, -- when Alphonse the XIII and Primo de Rivera made a meaningful trip to Italy in - which the spanish King kindly declared, introducing him to the italian authorities: "This es my Mussolini".

Primo de Rivera was a kind of "benevolent despot", who wanted to apply/ the same spirit about "regenerationism" from the end of spanish 19th century in a totally primary, elemental and intuitive way. He thought himself to be the - encarnation of a mesianic character, "artist of nations", "surgeon of iron" -- claimed by regenerationist thinkers, disappointed with the spanish liberal democracy.

Among the intelectual sectors, Primo de Rivera found a frontal opposition. Fist, with Miguel de Unamuno who was comdemned to banishment and exile. Later, with Ortega y Gasset, and finally in a generalized way.

However, public opinion accepted him, even enthusiastically, mainly because the critic military situation with Morocco a quick solution was expected/ and so it happened with the Alhucemas landing.

Workers were dividid, while the anarquists from C.N.T. (National Confederation of Workers) showed opposition, suffering from a hard policial repression which let them destroyed. The socialists from General Workers Union (U.G.T.), accepted collaborating with the general so far as becoming "the pets of -- the Regime".

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(1). The first original of this writting has got 57 bibliographic notes but it hasn't been possible to include them "bottom page" due to the space's limit.

In fact, Manuel Llaneza the worker leader of powerful socialist trade - unions in Asturias interviewed with the dictator in Madrid few days ahead the - taking of power. Despite the strong oposition between Indalecio Prieto and Fernando de los Rios, the first leader of U.G.T., Largo Caballero, accepted the -- charge of State Advisor. If this was happening in the lefttist Unions, is easy/ to guess that the Dictator counted on the unconditional collaboration of the - catholic Unions.

WHAT WAS THE FORECAST NATIONAL INSTITUTE

An Order in Council dated on the 27th of February 1908, had created the I.N.P., an instituion for risk-covering in the workers world: retirement, maternity, survival of relatives, work accidents, family charges, illness, work-sickk nesses, disablement, forced unemployment...

I.N.P. had substituted the old Social Reforms Institute as for social - assistance and protection, as for the constitution of the "Work Counseling" in/ wich the work of Largo Caballero was centered; him and his Union, U.G.T., would cooperate with Minister Eduardo Aunòs.

The socialist participation in the Dictatorship's labour policy, that - was relatively soccesful, showed particularly vigorous within the I.N.P.

The I.N.P., in the woords of Maluquer one of its most outstanding figures, "represents a sector independent from Public Administration, where collaboration of political and social forces is intense and maintained, even in the extremes right and left". Within it, according to López Núñez in 1913, "individualists and socialists, monarquics and republicans, go along very well, like conservatives and liberals".

These pluriideological settlements would be the source of activity and/ creativity in the Institute. That's why the Entity will insist on, for a succes full goal, it was imperative to keep a private and independent status. Independence from the State, but permanent collaboration on the other side, indisting, as well, on "the determinate presence of the working class" and how its mission was "a public function undertaken by delegation of the State itself".

A basic role in I.N.P.'s work was played by indecendent financial entities, called "Collaborating Saving-Banks", intimate assistants of the Institute, in fact.

The latter's funds as well as the other's were independent in between,/ and both independent from State. But they all working for the same goals and in constant coordination.

Direction of the Institute's General Plans was held by officials and -- other important charges of the Institute itself, (being very proud of not having the character of public officials), workers counselors and assistants of - the managerial class, and also by representatives of the "Collaborating Saving-Banks".

Although mainly dedicated to individual forecasting I.N.P. did not forget other social initiatives of a collective character, even at the national level. Perhaps of the most outstanding of these actions is this work to deal with His "Plan for the Fostering in Construction of National Schools" was undertaken during the Dictatorship of General Primo de Rivera.

THE DICTATORSHIP AND EDUCATION: SCHOLAR CONSTRUCTIONS

Specially when the great amount of expenses originated by the action in Morocco, dissapeared, the Dictatorship's Government started with a general policy of investment in Public Works, largely on dams and roads, forcing some authors to say things on the line of "premature keynesianism".

Along with effort looking for a "modernization" of Spain, with a usual/ "nationalist" orientation, is neccessary to include the Public Education politics.

This politics will be clearly shown through two streams: Primary Schools and Professional Monitoring.

On October, 31st 1924, The Statute for Professional Workers Monitoring/ was promulgated. Private and Public entities started creating "Working Schools" for the specific needs of local or regional industries.

As for primary teaching, there was in Spain an approximate number of 27.000 schools in 1927, not much more than the existing at the beggining of the century. But spanish demographic increase had been imppressive. Between 1910 and 1923, population had raised in 2.000.000 people.

Texts talk about a "vast plan" for school constructions making its number jump up to 32.000, which is to say, approximately 5.000 more. The nomber of teachers was reckoned as of 24.680 when Primo de Rivera got to the power, getting to be 33.980 four years later. And all thanks to the joined effort of the State and local Corporations.

The object of this work is to outstand a fact: the basic role played by the I.N.P. in such effort.

Thus, withour the participation of the Institute the Plan's possibilities had almost been unexistant. Furthermore, it was the Institute itself, and/ not the Dictatorship's Government, the financiers and propoters.

And all that because School Construction was not the competence of the/ State, but of local Corporations. The Government used to reject all responsibility in the Maintenance of Primary Teaching, expenses supplied by the Town's Councils without official help. The situation was serious.

Scholar Buildings were, by the beggining of the 20th Century, in very bad condition. They didn't have room enough for the pupils, crowded in rooms lent by the Councils, which, looking for cheeper rents, were constantly chang-

ing the locations. They were really mean places, without ventilation or appro-- piate lights, even without the most indispensable health services (sometimes -- with no bathroom), and of course, without yards, or any other pedagogic featu-- re.

On the already mentioned communicate of the Dictator, dated November -- 4th 1923 it concludes:

It deals with "...a public crisis persistently and painfully noted by - technical organisms and by citizens of good will. We refer to the Public School, so neccessary for our culture and the health of the sons of the people, to fi-- nish with the great shame of our analohabetism and to make the humble classes - participatns not only of the bread of civilization, but also infusing the right habits and social discipline in their spirits. Nowadays, the Council for Public Instruction is urging the construction of Schools according to the rules of mo- dern scholar bygiene as well as the shortening of procedures, unfortunately ve- ry slow in our times, required by the Administration for such construction. And also the I.N.P. with its "Collaborating Saving-Banks" feeling the duty of coope rating to the problems stressing Public Power and needs felt by people, they -- appear to be ready for the intervention...on scholar building construction._pre ferably for the most humble and abandoned towns...".

SCHOLAR CONSTRUCTIONS FOSTERING PLAN OF I.N.P. IN 1924 ON CHARGE OF WORK UNEM-- PLOYEMENT FUNDS

As indicated above, I.N.P.'s labour was mainly adressed to indicidual - forecast. For that reason it was specially important the plan elaborated by the Institute in 1923 to finance the fostering of scholar constructions by Town -- Councils. It's a collective social action at the national level.

With this a plan purpose it was settled and approved in Assembly cele-- brated on Novembre 1923, unitedly elaborated by an Institutes Comittee, another group from the "Collaborating Savings-Bank", and representatives of the "manage rial and working classes".

The idea was using part of the funds of the Institute in investments of a social character. Concretely, finaneing school constructions according to pe- dadogical rules established by the I.N.P. itself. This funds sacrified by the - Institute were perhaps the most difficult to spend: Unemployement funds.

It is important to note that it deals with the first application of a - social character undertaken by the Institute and that, although not excluding - other social actions, they are posponed for the future considering that no ac-- tion should be taken "until this great national neccessity is fullfilled".

It's also clarifying to realize that, as the reader will see below, it/ is required to submit to pedagogic rules for such constructions.

The idea wasn't a new one. Some Saving-Banks had been using it as a way for social investment of their funds. So behaved those banks in Catalonia Balea ric Islands, Biscay and Aragon. But now it's a whole National Plan. Through it,

Town Councils, will be able to apply for loans destinated to scholar construc-- tions according to some obligatory pedagogic rules elaborated by the Institute, and building them following scholar models. also supplied by the Institute. -- They had been elaborated by the Technical Office at the Ministery of Public Ins truction.

Building projects correspond to the following types:

Unitary Schools	Type A	Cold-dry Weather
" "	Type B	Warm-rainy Weather
" "	Type E	Cold-rainy Weather
" "	Type C	Hot-dry Weather
Unitary Schools for boys and girls	Type E-M Subtype I	Cold-rainy Weather
" "	Type A-N Subtype I	Cold weather
Graduated schools with 6 sections	Exclusive T.	E.T.

Loan and mortgage Tables at a very low interest rates, oscillating --- around a 3% is as follows:

Mortgage periods in years	Annual rates in Pts.
2	53,78048
5	23,09748
10	12,95045
15	9,63422
20	8,02425

"THE BOARD FOR THE FOSTERING OF NATIONAL SCHOOLS CONSTRUCTION"

This effort on Primary and Professional Education held by the Dictators hip, was not followed as for Secondary and Academic Education, in which the -- started reforms and economical investements were much lower.

In 1930 Santiago Alba will say: "The Ministery for Public Ed-ucation, - along the Dictatorship, during these shaming 6 years, has been the paradigm of/ carefulness, incoherenc and vanity".

But they did want to make an effort on Obligatory Primary Education. -- That's why the almost simultaneous offer by the I.N.P. on the arrival of Primo/ de Rivera, which was inmediately accepted. And applied.

November's I.N.P. initiative was enthusiastically accepted by Saving- / Bank's Boards and Public Opinion. It was decided to invest in the projects of - School Financing an important part of the Funds for Unemployement. Occidental - Andalusian Savings Bank, public opinion claims in cordoba and Seville were --- strongly supporting the project. All over Spain Saving-Banks and I.N.P. Boards/ were on the project's side.

On January 15th, 1924 the Government accepts the idea. On April the 12th, it's published an Order in Council creating "the Board for the fostering of National Schools". On May the 3rd. The Board was constituted and started to work.

The Board was a decisive organism for the development of the Plan. The idea started from a proposal of the I.N.P, to the Military Headquarters, according to the model already in work independently in Barcelona and Zaragosse impelled by their respective Saving-Banks. It was integrated by four Institute's Advisors, the Counselor for School Constructions of the I.N.P., and the Chief/ Architect at the Construction's Office in the Ministery for State Education and Fine Arts, two Administration Chiefs at the Ministery, a Teacher more than 10 years in service and a Primary Education Inspector.

The Board established loan grantings, it was able to apply (and obtain) financial help from the State for School Constructions, and its Building Projects and budgets had an official value without any proceedings in the Ministery. This would allow an administrative quickness unparalleled by time, allowing an inmediate and wide development of the Plan all over the country.

For loan granting from Town Councils, it was needed:

1.- Town Council Agreement
2.- A site's offer
3.- Specific attachment of periodic council incomes with that purpose
4.- Acceptance of Scholar Building Models according to I.N.P.'s Plans
5.- Acknodedgement of mortgaging property of building and sites ultil/ final mortgage of loans
6.- Acceptance of regular inspections and final agreement by the I.N.P.
7.- Compromise of incluiding in the council's budgets an specific account for school maintenance, when the building is finished
8.- Compromise for the fostering of scholar mutualities in the schools.

These rules established by the I.N.P. according to the Ministery, would go much further than the ususal for a simple financial entity. They go ahead. And some, like the existence of a pedagogical and sanitary policy, as well as the warranty of being included in the Council's gadgets through maintenance accounts meant a meaningful improvement in spanish education. And besides all that, the obligation to foster scholar mutualities. On this fostering/ line of social forecast, preference for loan granting was given to those Town/ Councils, which as long as justifying its urgency for a Scholar Building due to actual existing conditions in schools (basically very bad), would outstand/ in the"practising of forecast at their own places, not only the obligatory work retirement, but also the free system".

THE PLAN'S PROMOTERS

The decission for the Plan for the Fostering of Scholar constructions/ had been approved in assembly on November 1923 and elaborated by an Institute's Commission togheter with the Saving-Banks.

A breaf review through the names of the Comission's Members might help to understand the succeses of the Plan and how its development implies every - social sector.

Samaniego Boney set for a small and dense publication, the panorama of the three ideological sectors gathering in the I.N.P. The first coming from -- the remained krausism of the Free Teaching Institution. Cooperacion of I.L.E./ can be perfectly noted with the insistence on pedagogical rules as well as sanitary ones, in the construction's models offered. At the time, the Industry - National Institute (I.N.I.) was taken by two other sectors, social-catholics,/ an embryo of social democracy, and the pure socialist sector with some members joined to the I.L.E. The fourth sector was made with independents.

In this way, among the signers, we can find Jose Marrá, independent, - President of the I.N.P. in 1923 and Jose Maluquer Salvador, advisor.

The christian social sector was represented by Inocencio Jimenez Vicente from the Forecast Saving Bank of Aragón, indeed an outstanding feature in - the tasks of I.N.P., Francisco Moragas from the Forecast Saving Bank of Barcelona, and Antonio Mora Pascual from his homonyme in Valencia. Other important/ representatives from Saving Banks would be Filiberto Villalobos from the So--- cial Forecast Saving Bank of Salamanca, who made a very detached contribution/ favouring Scholar Constructions, and Leon Leal Ramos from the Social Forecast/ Saving Bank of Extremadura, who significatively fostered such constributions - in Caceres and Badajoz. Leal Ramos would publish a book with the results of -- the extremaduran plan. Other representatives from Saving Bank were: Gainzarain from Biscay Sanvings Bank. Pallares, from the correspondent in Leon. Bacariza, from Regional Calegan Saving Bank and Gabriel Bonilla from Social Forecast Saving Bank in Oriental Andalusia, whose enthusiasm has been mentioned before.

Among the representatives of the socialist current, let's mention Ma-- nuel Vigil Montolio, acting on behalf of Social Forecast Saving Bank of Astu-- rias, and worker spokemen Gómez Latorre, Francisco Sanchís, Andrés GAna y Remigio Cabello toral eddicient collaborator of Marva and Maluquer.

According to Order in law from May 1924 the "Board of Fostering" was - formed by Maluquer, Moragas, Gómez Latorre, Inocencio Jiménez and José Gascon/ (the latter as a technician in scholar constructions), on the I.N.P.'s side. - On behalf of the Ministery, participants were José Acuña and Fernando de Lara, Administration Bosses, Antonio Florez, constructions Chief, Luis A. Santulla-- no, inspector, and Ezequiel Solana, state teacher.

THE VALLISOLETAN MODEL IN 1901

In January 1901, The General and Technical Institute of Valladolid (today's Zorrilla Institute) had to be urgently moved to provisional sites, fa--- cing the situation of ruine in the previous location, at the Universitary Area

Once approved by Azcarraga's Government in which Antonio García Alix - was Minister for Public Education and Fine Arts, an Order in Law is published/

at the same time approving the construction of a new building; the project was undertaken by the vallisoletan architect Teodosio Torres.

Torres, helped by other architects like Agapito Revilla and Emilio Baeza, elaborates a project which is sent on the 8th of February and accepted by the Ministery. The Building's construction started in 1903 and finished in 1907.

His plans correspond to a list of "pedagogic criteria", confectioned by the Teacher's Staff, scrupulously respected by the architect. They're the following:

1.- Isolated Building with an open space, even in front of the Main Door.
2.- Large rear space destinated to Game Fields.
3.- A great abundance of light and ventilation.
4.- Central Yard, to allow the maximun of possibilities indicated in statement 3, as wide as possible.
5.- It won't be higher than two floors.
6.- Serial agruppations by "utilization affinity":
    a. Phisiology-Hygiene-Natural History-Laboratory-Botanic Garden.
    b. Agriculture-Agricultural techniques-Laboratories-Fields for agricultural experiments.
    c. Physies-Chemistry-Laboratory-Dark Chamber-Proyection hall.
    d. Drawing-Caligraphy.
    e. Direction-Secretary-Administration-Offices-Files.
7.- Series A and B will be on ground floor. C and D in the second with cenital light.
8.- A covered Gymnastic Hall will be disposed next to the Game Fields.
9.- Study Hall and Scholar Library (two different and adjacent places).
10.- Teachers Hall and Techers Library.
11.- Central Hall-Assembly Room.
12.- "Enough" Sanitary Systems.
13.- Water installations, Central Heating and Light, with connections in other rooms, specially laboratories.
14.- Porter's Lodge, Porter's Room, and Head Porter's Room in each floor.
15.- Three Houses: for the Director, Porter's and Head Porter's, the latter at the building's entrance.

According to the following criteria, architect Torres will exactly fit/ with the expectations and so the Institute is built in Valladolid with the intervention as well of vallisoletan politicians German Gamazo, César Silió and/ specially Santiago Alba, formerly attacked violently by Primo de Rivera even being processed and kept in exile.

The building was made with an architecture, that in words of Mingote,/ "we could call universitary". Before the Institute in Valladolid, only four had been built: in Orense, San Sebastián, Logroño and La Coruña, being splendid the four.

But it will be the vallisoletan building the model to be applied. It was and original building, clearly monumentalist perfectably suitable for an Education Center, using a traditional and cheap material (like bricks), with

two big eaves supported by corbels under the roof, with a central body and two overhanging bodies (lateral), framing the facade. Very soon, public opinion -- got used to this kind of buildings as Education Centers. Very conscious of --- such fact the contemporaries will say that the future model of an Education -- Center is the one just finished. They will reasonably claim that it was the -- first time in which a constitutive plan responded to a previous analysis of -- the Teacher's Staff. The center is simple and it doesn't look like the ones before. "It responde to the Teaching needs in our present and the Future".

As we will see I.N.P.'s Plan of 1924 will adopt this model in gene-- ral lines. Between 1925 and 1936 a large amount of Schools was built all over/ Spain, being today a living witness of this fruitful decade in the Spanish History of Scholar Architecture. The Republic continued and developped the "Fostering Plan" according to the same constructing formula mainly employed by the - time of Filiberto Villalobos.

Let's advise, anyway, that the third floor which appears in the plans/ is an attached transom to the facade for the houses applied in statement 15. - But the whole building has two floors as well as the rest of scholar buildings in Spain for the so mentioned period, seeming that it was in effect a model -- that Institute in Valladolid according to the promoter's expectations.

PEDADOGIC CRITERIA OF THE PLAN

The "Fostering Plan", was conceived mainly for the construction Unitary and Mixed Schools. Little Centers of only one site, suitable for the so -- needed rural areas. But it also settled the plans for constructions in bigger/ towns and cities. That's why criteria repertories will be adressed to specifications of a constructive type and mainly the "scholar sanitary system", which in the plans for small constructions, the models to be applied are reduced to/ the minimun exigible, gettins as well to the planning of bigger centers. These are the pedagogic criteria:

1.- Besides a Teacher and a place, Education needs tools, instruments/ and physical conditions to be transmitted.
2.- For the kids helth, intelligence and education, becomes indispensable a suitable scholar center for every kid remains during the -- scholar age more than 10.000 hours inside.
3.- Urban Schools must be located in open places: Squares, Gardens, wide boulevards, etc.
4.- It must be reckoned as scholar population the 15% of the total population and supply with schools for all children at that age.
5.- Schools will get a Game Field. Between 5/8 square meters by pupil. Game fields are important no only for them, but also for gymnas--- tics, sport practising and open-air teachings, "more neccessary -- and extended with the time".
6.- The building's dimensions will be equivalent in meters to the result of multiplying 2,5 m^2 by every student's post.
7.- Maximun student's number will be of 50.
8.- It must be always preferred a graduate school, instead of a mixed/

or universitary one, because they make possible to use all educa-- tional supplies neccessary for education and evaluated as follows:

a. Wide Hall or Waiting Room.
b. An office for every two teachers. One more for the Director.
c. Sanded game fields.
d. Tree plantation and botanic garden or field for agricultural ex periments on a yard's area.
e. Wide covered zone on a yard's side.
f. Fountain of a spount kind with regulable tap.
g. Ramps instead of stairs except to come up to the first floor. - They shall be wide and of very little inclination.
h. Sanitary services: a toilet, a flush, and a collective flush -- for every 20 students.
i. Dressing-room or cloackroom: a big one for every classroom.
j. Bathing-Hall.
k. Librery, with lending service or loaning of books.
l. Scholar Museum, "which is not a set of scholar works, little -- girls sewing, or caligraphy tests, but usuful tools for educa-- tion, for teaching things, in relation wit Agriculture, Indus-- try, the Sea, etc.".
ll. Assembly Room for public acts.
m. Handy-work Hall.
n. Scholar Bar.
ñ. First-aid kit or Infirmary with one or two beds.
o. Walls and furniture (this always simple, comfortable, solid and varnished) have to be painted in clear and light colours. On -- the walls, there must be paintings, maps and alegoric motives./ The ones for the smallest with birds and flowers. There will be flowerpots with plants and flowers. "Everything in the school - must inspire joy".

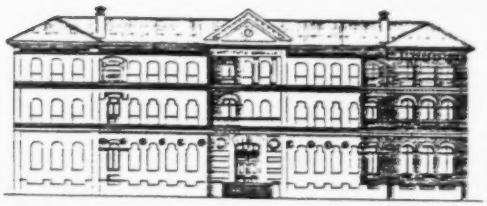
9.- Before the construction, the opinion of local teachers and the -- area supervisor will be taken into account.

BUILDING CRITERIA

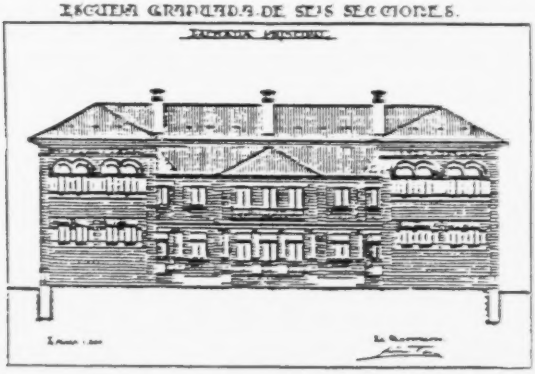
Within a very wide repertory of technical statements, we have picked - up some construction criteria that we consider of interest:

1.- Obtaining a great deal of water for the Center.
2.- The main Facade will be located on the opposite side where rain -- and wind blows.
3.- In warm areas the facade will be north-oriented, and the opposite/ in the south.
4.- Light, from N. or NE.
5.- Material's conditions: dry, refractary, to humidity, bad heat-con ductors, air-permeable.
6.- Double walls, with an isolating air-zone.
7.- On the roofs, avoid slate (it needs frequent reparing) and metalic roofs. Always with a double inclined plane and ventilation holes.
8.- All angles, specially in the interior will be rounded.

9.- Highth for floor: 4 meters.
10.- Lenght in the classrooms, will never exceed the double of width.
11.- All doons will be double, with double opening as well inside-out,/ outside-in.
12.- All walls will be painted with washable paint.
13.- Socles of 1,5 meters will be installed, made in hard paste.
14.- Classroom walls will be supplied with the maximun possible number/ of windows oriented towards light and sun. From any point of the - school, children must be able to see the sky and light. To prevent too strong lights, curtains will be supplied. Light will always be unilateral, constant, uniform, disperse, and coming from the left. At least, the total area of the windows must be the same to a --- fifth of the classroom's floor area.
15.- Temperature will never be lower than 10ºC.



Institute of Valladolid. 1901.
(Desidned by Prof. Francisco Alvarado)



Building project. Plan of I.N.P. 1924

RESUME

Pendant la Dictature du Général Primo de Rivera, initiée en 1923, un organisme, l'Institut National de Prévision (I.N.P.) décide de mettre en fonctionnement un "Plan d'appui á la constructions des écoles".

L'I.N.P. réalise des actions de prévision sociale individuelle Mais -- maintenant il a commencé á appliquer un plan social, de caractère collectif et/ de portée nationale. Dans ce but il applique une partie des fondsdestinés au - chômage.

Comme la construction des écoles était une obligation des Mairies, ce - plan consiste à fàire des prêts aux communes pour qu'elles construisent des écoles. Tout ceci était très nécessaire, car les mairies laissaient dans l'abandon les locaux destinés auxécoles et celles-ci se trouvaient dans les pires condi-- tions.

Pour rendre possible l'obtention de ces emprumts, les mairies étaient - obligées de réaliser les constructions d'accord avec des plans architecturaux - qui supposaient l'exécution d'un ample répertoire de normes et de conditions de caractère pédagogique.

Le gouvernement a appuyé totalement cette initiative. Le succès en fut/ grand. On a construit un grand nombre d'écoles.

La modernité et la justesse d'application des normes de construction -- des écoles a été si pertinent que la Deuxième République Espagnole, a continué/ avec ce même plan, ayant adopté ce modèle de construction.

La période qui comprend les constructions scolaires réalisées suivant ces lignes pédagogiques propres à l'enseignement public espagnol, s'étend de - 1924 à 1936, ayant deux phases, celle de la Dictature de Primo de Rivera (1923-1929) et celle de la Deuxième République (1931-1936). Ces écoles existent encore et on en trouve partout en Espagne, comme témoignage d'une étape féconde en/ constructions scolaires.

AN ESSAY IN SCHOOLING OF ILLITERATES IN SPAIN (1963-1966)

José Romero Delgado

My professional activity often leads me to the consult of specialized dictionaries.Literacy has been one of the items that I have been obliged to consult recently.

I have been surprised by the absence of the sending to another alike that would head De Vega y Melea-Juveral (1893-1978).It would correspond to the section of History of Education of a specialized and very selective dictionary to contain among its pages,what is a certain activity ,of high significance,has marked history about it.And this one,no doubt is Juvenal,author,planner and organizer of the National Campaign of Literacy in 1963.

This educative policy action in 1963 took place in the decade of the Development Plans.

The Catholic Church wants to surpass the National-Catholicism: Huelva is the first scenary of this context where Juvenal de Vega y Melca tries adults literacy.

The bishop Cantero Cuadrado (1954-64) promoted the Diocese and the schools very much.

In this context Juvenal de Vega was working as chief inspector,not having good relations with the Church and the Government.

Apart from anecdotes,we will approach Vega's action as an organizer of Literacy Campaigns and discuss the Instructions dated in Huelva on October 1st in 1962.

The Instructions core from Provincial Board against illiteracy,in which Juvenal de Vega is placed as chief inspector.

The Instructions complied: the reasons of literacy, development of timetables and assistance, teaching of illiteracy, literacy and basic education, etc.

His work can be divided in two stages:
The first stage, before the Spanish Civil war (36-39); it is characterized by being technical-
And the second one, during General Franco's dictatorship, it shows some tittles of essayist character about culture and arts.

During all these years, Juvenal de Vega worked as a social teacher in Huelva and co-operated with the local press, above all.

By his extraordinary action as inspector in the organization of season schools, adults' classes, etc., Tena Artigas appointed him director of the National Campaign of Literacy in 1963.

The conterts of these Instructions are:

1st Instruction:

This letter classifies the reasons for illiteracy in school and out of school. To eradicate and to prevent the illiteracy, he recommends the promotion and development of the attendance of the pupils to class, and "use of effective methods for the teaching of reading and writing.

In that moment, the school is divided in a little-elitist proportion that through a Bachelor's degree will reach University; and the other one, larger, contained a population which would become illiteracy due to several reasons.

To the latter proportion it is aimed the ~~last~~ Provincial Campaign of Huelva, an essay of the National Campaign of Literacy.

2rd Instruction:

It is titled "development of timetables and a - quaintance", and it is defined with some specifiers of the organizing skill of the teacher:

a) An agreement on the timetable with the customs of family and work life in the town.

b) Intensifying the teaching (in reading and - writing).

c) Paying more attention to primary school ages.-

3rd Instruction:

Titled "teaching and methodology of literacy. This teaching aims the elimination of the old methodology without separation between reading and writing,- and because of that, he recommends:

a) The use of this teaching in two simultaneities, that means the exercises proposed to the - students combine reading and writing.

b) Arrangement of the class: blackboard in which the teacher will illustrate graphicly his explanations and in front of him, some students properly equiped.

The purpose is to finish with the known "Barber's - method", in which the teacher stayed sitting at the -

table and the boys queued,standing around the table.-

This Instruction ends with a long and numerous - illustration of what can be the ordinary process of - works.He divides in three stages in which it is ini - tiated and motivated the reading,key to prevent illiteracy.

It is a practical plan,based on an adequate reading and in a good calligraphic disposition.The sign- of legibility of the letter is got with meticulous - work,but without penalizing the spelling mistakes. -

Finally,it is develop as an example the work of- a school sesion in which the activities are centred - in reading and writing.

4th Instruction:

The relation between literacy and basic educa - tion is delimited and mentioned.The purpose is to make- an integrated curriculum which origin is in the works- of reading,writing and calculation,that generated - cultural activities rooted in an environmental rea - lity.

5th Instruction:

This Instruction includes:

a) Explained reading of Catechism,orientated - to pious practices,devotions and Masses,which a - re going to contribute to Catholic formation - (Catholic morality).

b) Patriotic education.It is done over Spain's - oral exaltation and her glorious past.

c) Social education which will try to detach - the individual and social function of the ownership and work.It was necessary to frame in the - se origins the incipient professional orienta - tion.

The Work Plan is adapted to the kind of school - promoted by the Provincial Campaign of Huelva,accor - ding to the characteristics of every social level to- be considered illiterate or potentially illiterate, - because of being old-fashioned.

Because of that,it is aimed,according to the - kind of school,the creation of night classes,season - school (children in the morning,children in the eve - ning,and adults at night),school colony for children- without schooling from underdeveloped regions and - with a selection of volunteer teachers and educators.

It is about a Campaign against illiteracy tried- out in Huelva and developed a year after on a Natio - nal level,because of the management skill and organi- zation capacity that the Inspector Juvenal de Vega - always had.

The next Instructions up to the tenth are refe - rred to a prevention of illiteracy,the elaboration - of a final memorandum,on a level of educator centre - and a considerable valuation of the teaching staff. -

This is the synthesis of this document we have - tried to let people know the professional feature -

of the author, features that are interlaced in this difficult context because of the political dogmatism that destroys every cultural progress. We think this is the credit of Juvenal de Vega y Helea, professional-technician, who knew how to take advantage of the legislative requirements and opportunities to spread education to the most needed social layers.

... in Cáceres, before the Spanish civil war, and after it in Huelva, Juvenal de Vega y Helea knew how to make a literacy campaign, that he put to a national-level in 1963, and because of that it would be necessary to investigate the real reach of that campaign.

This matter escapes to our aim but the modern History can approach with the auspices of some jealous and competent universitary deparment in the theory of the Education and History.

COMPULSORY EDUCATION AND CURRICULUM EXPANSION IN THE UNITED STATES (1880-1940)

William J. Reese
Ronald D. Cohen

Historians of American education now generally agree that compulsory education laws rarely had the effect of enrolling vast numbers of new students in school. When laws were passed in the early twentieth century requiring adolescents up to a certain age, usually fourteen (and later sixteen), to attend school, for example, most children of that age were already in attendance. School attendance laws therefore symbolized the state's interest in education but hardly had the effect earlier historians posited.[1] This means that the real research to be pursued in the history of American education is not how the states forced youth to receive more formal education over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Rather, the vital questions are why did the children voluntarily (with their parents' prodding) attend school for longer periods of time, and what quality of education did different groups of children receive?

The period between 1880 and 1940 is a notable one in the history of American education. During these years, as school attendance laws symbolically attested, adolescents for the first time were drawn in larger numbers within the embrace of the public school. For a variety of reasons and with a variety of consequences, this generation of citizens believed strongly in the power of formal education.[2] Adolescents increasingly attended high school, from the 9th through 12th grades, and public secondary education lost the exclusive quality it had enjoyed from the

1820s to the late nineteenth century. This essay explores why more and more youth were compelled by the conditions of life, rather than laws, to attend high school after the turn of the century. It also examines how schools were transformed internally in terms of curricular changes in response to these pupils.

Explaining why increased numbers of children attended high school after the turn of the century is a difficult historical problem. The context for change in the larger society is easy enough to agree upon. America had become increasingly urbanized, and cities were the traditional site of public secondary schools in the nineteenth century. Society also was transformed by the rise of industrial, monopoly capitalism, and this, too, was not without its effects on shaping new patterns of political control and school organization. Waves of immigration from Central and Southern Europe, as well as quickened movement from the countryside to the cities, also added a new human dimension to urban and industrial life.[3] But how did these broad changes lead to the decision by citizens to make secondary education more accessible and desirable to more adolescents?

The most important writer on the subject, Edward Krug, sheds considerable light on this issue but does not provide a direct answer. His research clearly demonstrates, however, that adolescents were hardly forced by the state through compulsory school laws to attend school.[4] Many adolescents, whose parents could forego their labor in the daily quest for material survival, attended school with greater frequency. But the changing material conditions of life, not legislative fiat, had in a most direct way compelled this change in their behavior.

One needn't have a strictly economic interpretation of high school

expansion to appreciate the important material changes that transformed America at the turn of the century. School and society were undergoing dramatic alterations. Most notably, the Industrial Revolution entered a new corporate phase increasingly oriented toward consumer products. The economic system was dominated by fewer and fewer individuals through mergers, pools, and trusts. As power was centralized and consolidated in the private economic realm, so too did professional and business elites consolidate and centralize control within public schools. School boards became smaller and dominated by a new generation of ruling elites. These individuals enhanced the power of superintendents, guaranteeing that most public schools were less and less responsive to the influence of ordinary parents or minority group interests.[5]

Most importantly, perhaps, this new phase of capitalist growth eliminated many jobs for adolescent boys. Male teenagers were employed routinely as errand boys, cash boys, petty clerks, and typists before the 1880s. Many positions, however, were eliminated with the rise of increased machine production and technological innovation. For example, Selwyn Troen has demonstrated that the pneumatic tube was increasingly utilized in larger department stores and other businesses in the early twentieth century. This eliminated thousands of jobs for cash boys, who traditionally had been male adolescents.[6] Child labor reformers, themselves a polyglot group of social activists, also pressured businesses and state legislatures to limit children's labor in the free market. To many reformers, school attendance seemed preferable to work. And so, over the decades compulsory school laws were passed, but they were largely

a symbolic reflection of changes in school going that had already been determined to a large degree by the market place.

Viviana Zelizer, in a fascinating new book about children at the turn of the century, would add another element to this discussion. That is, early in this century parents increasingly abandoned their view of children as economic assets. Many middle class parents had sent their children off to work by their adolescent years in the nineteenth century, but nearly all parents after 1900 viewed their offspring as economically useless. Children were priceless, but their worth was not economic, only social and emotional. Children were not viewed by what they could contribute to the family economy, but by their inherent human value.[7] Zelizer's analysis, however suggestive, is not sufficiently rooted in the larger struggles in which schools were engaged at the turn of the century or in the class conflicts over varying access to material goods. As we shall see, not all children of all groups were seen as essentially of equal worth; boys, girls, blacks, and rich and poor were hardly viewed as being equally worthy or priceless.

The research of John Bodnar on the new urban immigration demonstrates that many children, such as those of Slavic descent, continually worked for pay and eschewed going to high school in the early twentieth century. They were still viewed as part of the family economy.[8] But the trend for all social classes, racial groups, and ethnic groups was clear between 1900 and 1940: more and more adolescents would go to high school, and more and more would graduate. But how did the character of the American high school change in response to these millions of children? Specifically,

how did the curriculum change as more and more teenagers were compelled to go to school, since the economy was unable to provide them long-term, desirable work?

Considerable research on secondary education highlights the tremendous expansion of the high school during the early 1900s in contrast to the nature of secondary education in the previous century. Boston built the first public high school in 1821, and it only admitted boys. But town after town and city after city built high schools throughout the nineteenth century and gradually opened their doors to women. By 1880 public high schools replaced fee paying academies as the basic site of secondary education for most adolescents. Of course, only a tiny percentage of the relevant teenage population attended high school before 1900, and fewer still graduated.[9]

It was only with the elimination of much teenage work and the rise of various child-saving movements of the Progressive era that children's labor became obsolescent. Child labor gradually declined between 1900 and 1940, with the economic depression of 1929 only fueling the reliance of citizens on public schools as custodial and educational institutions for children between 5 and 16.[10] But going to high school meant very different things to boys and girls, rich and poor, and white and black teenagers, as the social history of the high school curriculum reveals.

Nineteenth century high schools were largely dominated by female students, a development often ignored by historians. Teenage girls of the nineteenth century who attended high school were often from the middle and upper class, since they were not expected to work and were at any

rate unable to find suitable jobs in the economy. Working class girls worked in mills and factories or cleaned homes for their families or of others for pay; prolonged schooling was not a natural part of their lives. Middle and upper class, native Protestant teenage girls formed the majority of the high school population. The high school often prepared women as teachers for the elementary grades. School boards, therefore, utilized secondary education as a convenient, relatively inexpensive source of their teaching supply. Special Normal curricula were established, to the degree that young women often found themselves in a separate academic track than adolescent boys.

The expansion of the high school in the early 1900s produced not an equal education for everyone but one that was still biased against females. Girl's courses were oriented around preparation for secretarial work, as high schools offered a wide range of commercially-oriented classes.[11] These courses taught typing, shorthand, and other skills that fit young women into expanding, though largely low paying, low status, dead end jobs in offices, factories, and department stores. Private commercial schools had taught these skills, often to young men as well as to young women, in the nineteenth century, but the public high school rapidly expanded these vocationally oriented courses in the early twentieth century.[12] High schools prepared millions of women for low paying positions, from elementary teachers in one room rural schools to typists in major cities, contributing to the linkage of many low status positions with "women's work."

White males, on the other hand, while never present in equal numbers

in the nineteenth or early twentieth century high school, enjoyed a different educational experience.[13] The minority of boys who attended high school before 1880 were also from the middle and upper classes. Unlike their sisters, however, they were able to find many more positions in the market place, were more encouraged to prepare for the learned professions, and thus exercised more choices in their education. The drop-out rate for teenage boys in the high school before 1880 was extremely high compared to that of girls, since there were sufficient jobs for boys with even a year or two of high school as clerks or apprentices in various businesses. Those few children who took classical courses and remained in the high school prepared for careers in law, medicine, or business. The majority of the boys, in the English curriculum, never graduated but moved directly into low level business positions that offered much more mobility than teenage girls could expect in their lives.

Even though more teenage boys in the early 1900s received secondary instruction, high schools still retained their previous vocational orientation. Going to high school promised material rewards. The difference was that between 1900 and 1940 children from the immigrant classes and poorer classes often were compelled by the exigencies of life to attend high school. Poorer parents, realizing that prolonged schooling enabled the wealthy to preserve their children's advantaged class position, obviously believed in varying degrees in the American dream of social mobility through hard work and school achievement. But recall that elites by the early twentieth century had consolidated their power and control over school boards. Recall, too, that parents and even

teachers increasingly lost control over the shaping of the curriculum as superintendents increased their power in a world dominated by centralized authority.

Not surprisingly, and contrary to Zelizer's perspective, social class greatly influenced the rise of distinct academic and vocational tracks in the American high school at the turn of the century. Educational leaders from G. Stanley Hall to Charles W. Eliot believed that the children of the working classes could not expect to profit from the same instruction given to their social betters.[14] Instead, working class children confronted some unpleasant choices: they faced an economy that didn't want them or only offered them the worst jobs, or they faced public school administrators who doubted their innate intellectual potential. In the end, males from the middle and upper classes dominated in the college preparatory tracks and highest quality academic courses beyond their numbers. The poorer teenagers learned Business English, not English Literature, Practical Math, not Trigonometry, and found themselves disproportionately in deadend commercial and vocational tracks. Perhaps this even socialized them to accept the often dead end jobs that faced them when they dropped out or even graduated.

Black teenagers, both boys and girls, faced a more unsavory set of alternatives in their preparation for adulthood. Black families after the Civil War faced an economic system in the rural South that reenslaved them through the crop lien system, sharecropping, and political strategies by whites that reduced them to near peonage. In Southern and Northern cities, black males were the last hired and first fired. Black women

worked far more often even than white working class women, as Jacqueline Jones highlights in her excellent new book.[15] But the work, usually the dirtiest, lowest paying, often included housecleaning and washing, for whites of course. Given this situation, what could black teenagers hope to attain by going to high school, which they also did in larger numbers between 1900 and 1940?

The Progressive era was largely a regressive era for black Americans. Jim Crow lines hardened in the North and South. Moreover, the tradition of linking black education with vocational schooling of the lowest common denominator continued in the early twentieth century. Shorn of economic and political rights throughout most of the nation, especially in the South, blacks reared their children in an economy which largely left them in a perennially desperate condition. By the late nineteenth century, urban black households were increasingly dominated by women, whose husbands moved from place to place seeking stable employment. Black youth often faced a curricula that confirmed their second class citizenship and aimed to fit them into the world of Jim Crow.

The zeal of black citizens for education did not abate during the early decades of this century. A tiny percentage of black high school students, of course, could hope to become teachers or other low paying professionals within the segregated world they inhabited in the North and South. But the most talented black high school graduates, even those trained in the classical subjects, faced a hostile world in which opportunities for further educational advancement were slim. Blacks usually were tracked, like poorer whites, into vocational courses: indust-

rial education and manual training in the urban schools, and agricultural and mechanical courses in rural schools of the South. A life characterized by massive poverty and inequality existed for those trapped beyond the pale of color in the larger society. Public education rarely provided the opportunities for career advancement that whites from well-to-do families might assume were naturally theirs. Nonetheless, black parents and their children persevered.[16]

In many respects, the question of why more and more children went to high school helps address the larger meaning of school compulsion in America between the 1880s and the end of the Great Depression. Compulsion came in many different forms, from family circumstances that were shaped by race and social class, by gender, and by the larger historical conditions that are ever in a state of change. Clearly, the legal history of school compulsion must be replaced with a social history of school going that emphasizes why more adolescents went to school, what they made of their education, and whether their educational experiences liberated or constrained them in adulthood. Compulsory school laws symbolize that Americans in the early decades of this century expected schools to provide custodial care, and academic, vocational, and behavioral training for more and more youth. But the reasons why families relied more and more on schools and precisely how the schools responded to different groups of children remain a prime concern for discussion and future research.

NOTES

1. Compare Forrest Ensign, COMPULSORY SCHOOL ATTENDANCE AND CHILD LABOR (Iowa City: Athens Press, 1921), with David B. Tyack, "Ways of Seeing: An Essay on the History of Compulsory Schooling," HARVARD EDUCATIONAL REVIEW 46 (1976): 355-89.

2. See especially Lawrence Cremin, THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE SCHOOL: PROGRESSIVISM IN AMERICAN EDUCATION (New York: Knopf, 1961); David B. Tyack, THE ONE BEST SYSTEM: A HISTORY OF AMERICAN URBAN EDUCATION (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974): Joel Spring, EDUCATION AND THE RISE OF THE CORPORATE STATE (Boston: Beacon Press, 1972); William J. Reese, POWER AND THE PROMISE OF SCHOOL REFORM: GRASS-ROOTS MOVEMENTS DURING THE PROGRESSIVE ERA (London and Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1986); and Ronald D. Cohen and Raymond A. Mohl, THE PARADOX OF PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION (Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1979).

3. Robert Wiebe, THE SEARCH FOR ORDER (New York: Hill & Wang, 1967).

4. Edward A. Krug, THE SHAPING OF THE AMERICAN HIGH SCHOOL (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1969). Also see Theodore Sizer, SECONDARY SCHOOLS AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962).

5. Gabriel Kolko, THE TRIUMPH OF CONSERVATISM (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1963); James Weinstein, THE CORPORATE IDEAL IN THE LIBERAL STATE (Boston: Beacon Press, 1968); Tyack, THE ONE BEST SYSTEM; Spring, EDUCATION AND THE RISE OF THE CORPORATE STATE; and Reese, POWER AND THE PROMISE OF SCHOOL REFORM.

6. Selwyn K. Troen, "The Discovery of the Adolescent by American Educational Reformers, 1900-1920." in Lawrence Stone, ed., SCHOOLING AND SOCIETY (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972): 239-51.

7. Viviana Zelizer, PRICING THE PRICELESS CHILD: THE CHANGING SOCIAL VALUE OF CHILDREN (New York: Basic Books, 1985).

8. John Bodnar, "Materialism and Morality: Slavic American Immigrants and Education, 1890-1940," JOURNAL OF SOCIAL HISTORY 3 (Winter 1976): 1-19; and THE TRANSPLANTED (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985).

9. The standard history of the nineteenth century high school is Elmer E. Brown's THE MAKING OF OUR MIDDLE SCHOOLS (New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1902). Also see Michael B. Katz, THE IRONY OF EARLY SCHOOL REFORM: EDUCATIONAL INNOVATION IN MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY MASSACHUSETTS (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968); and Maris Vinovskis, THE ORIGINS OF PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOLS (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1985). Much of what follows is based on the work-in-progress on early American high school by William J. Reese.

10. David B. Tyack, Robert Lowe, and Elizabeth Hansot, PUBLIC SCHOOLS

IN HARD TIMES: THE GREAT DEPRESSION AND RECENT YEARS (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984).

11. John Rury, "Vocationalism for Home and Work: Women's Education in the United States, 1880-1930," HISTORY OF EDUCATION QUARTERLY 24 (Spring 1984): 21-44.

12. Janice Weiss, "The Advent of Education for Clerical Work in the High School: A Reconsideration of the Historiography of Vocationalism," TEACHERS COLLEGE RECORD 83 (Summer 1982): 613-28.

13. Krug's volume on the high school during the Progressive era is the best available book on the origins of public secondary education.

14. Krug, THE SHAPING OF THE AMERICAN HIGH SCHOOL.

15. Jacqueline Jones, LABOR AND LOVE, LABOR OF SORROW: BLACK WOMEN, WORK, AND THE FAMILY FROM SLAVERY TO THE PRESENT (New York: Basic Books, 1985).

16. Of a vast literature on black education, see at least Louis Harlan, BOOKER T. WASHINGTON: THE MAKING OF A BLACK LEADER (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972); and Vincent P. Franklin and James D. Anderson, eds., NEW PERSPECTIVES ON BLACK EDUCATIONAL HISTORY (Boston: G.K. Hall & Co., 1978).

SUMMARY

Conventional wisdom has held that the enforcement in the United States of compulsory attendance laws in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was responsible for the rapid increase in school attendance, particularly in the upper grades. Recent scholarship, however, has begun to indicate that attendance in the elementary grades was high before the laws were enforced, and that high school attendance basically increased for other reasons. Of foremost importance was the changing nature of the economy. School enrollments increased partially because of the elimination of low skilled jobs for juveniles, who now had little else to do. While girls were the majority of high school students before 1880, by the early twentieth century boys were going in greater numbers for essentially vocational reasons. Girls now became concentrated in commercially-oriented classes. Boys, however, had a greater range of choices. Class now became a significant variable. Working class youth tended to take the less academic and vocational courses, while those from the middle and upper classes, who graduated in larger numbers, were to be found in the college preparatory tracks. Black attendance also increased, although widespread discrimination, north and south, prevented most from gaining the economic mobility that a high school education was supposed to guarantee. Thus, to understand the meaning of school compulsion in the United States, 1880-1940, it is necessary to study not the enforcement of laws, but the changing nature of a heterogeneous urban society marked by the rise of industrial capitalism. Students were forced to go to school for social and economic reasons, and once there were influenced by a diversified curriculum.

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